

**A
HISTORY
OF THE
FREEDOM MOVEMENT**

VOLUME III

1906-1936

PART II

Renaissance Publishing House
DELHI - 110051

First Published 1960
Reprinted 1984

Renaissance Publishing House,
C-69, Jitar Nagar,
DELHI-110051.

Printed at
Goyal Offset Printers
DELHI-110035.

Pakistan Historical Society Publication

No. 19

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CHAPTER XI
RE-EMERGENCE OF THE ALL INDIA
MUSLIM LEAGUE

DURING the Khilafat Movement the Muslim League had become inactive, chiefly because its leaders were too much preoccupied with the Khilafat campaign. In 1924, however, Mahomed Ali Jinnah tried to pick up the shreds of the League and weave them back into something to its former self.¹ The League, it may be remembered, had not met since the tempestuous Nagpur Session. The only attempt to call a Session (in 1923) had to be given up for want of quorum.

Even so, the calling of a Session in May 1924 at Lahore did not go without criticism, to which Jinnah replied: "The League is not in any way going to adopt a policy or programme which will, in the least degree. . . be antagonistic to the Indian National Congress, the Khilafat organisation or the Jamiat-ul-Ulama. On the contrary, . . . it will proceed on lines which are best calculated to further the general interests, not forgetting the particular interests of the Muslim Community." He, however, made an impassioned plea to make "the All-India Muslim League a living and well-organized political body as it was, with branches all over the country. It is then alone," he argued, "that leaders will be able to speak with authority and be in a position to

¹ Government of India, Central Publication Branch, *India in 1927-28* (Calcutta, 1928), p. 61.

bring about a complete settlement of the various issues confronting Muslims which will be acceptable to the Musalman public.”¹ Anxious as he was to rehabilitate the prestige and the representative character of the League, he aroused the suspicion of certain Jamiat and Khilafat leaders who perhaps saw in the League’s revival their own undoing. No wonder, even the *bonafides* of the League were questioned.² Nevertheless, Jinnah had, ere long, succeeded in rescuing it from a state of coma.

Listless though its existence, and halting though its progress, during the next few years, the organisation itself had been saved from a premature death. During this period, the League met under the presidentship of Syed Raza Ali at Bombay in December, 1924, of Sir Abdul Rahim at Aligarh in 1925, Shaikh Abdul Qadir at Delhi in 1926, and of Seth Yaqub Hasan at Madras in 1927. In these successive Sessions, the League tried to give clarity and coherence to the Muslim view-point in regard to future constitutional changes. It demanded a thorough inquiry by a Royal Commission for the purpose of proposing changes in the Government of India Act of 1919; a Federal Scheme with full and complete provincial autonomy; the effective representation of minorities in legislatures and other elected bodies without, however, reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even to an equality of representation with the minorities; and the retention of separate electorates for Muslims.³

These were the days of increasing Hindu-Muslim antagonism, of sickening communal conflict. There

¹ Matlubul Hasan Saiyid, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Political Study* (Lahore, 1945), pp. 305ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 311ff.

³ Noman, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

was unprecedented violence; the toll in life and human misery was heavy. Peace and Unity conferences were held, but to no avail. The explosive situation called for skilful handling. But far from helpful was the attitude of the Congress leaders, and, above all, of Gandhi. He maintained an ominous silence for a considerable period while riots continued unabated, causing serious loss to Muslim life and property. He broke his silence only when he thought that the Hindus were the sufferers in the riots in Kohat.¹ His open espousal of the Hindu cause shocked his erstwhile colleagues and admirers, the Ali Brothers, and was the beginning of estrangement between them. Later, six weeks of vandalism and massacre in Calcutta in 1925 could not move Gandhi to go there and compose Hindu-Muslim differences; he thought it fit to preach that "if bloodshed is inevitable, then let blood be shed in a manly spirit".² Referring to widely propagated Hindu plans, Dr. Ansari, in his presidential address at the Unity Conference of Delhi, said: "If there be an Hindu brother of mine who imagines that he can get rid of 70 millions of these Muslim fellow-countrymen, he is labouring under a great delusion and the sooner he is disillusioned the better for the country."³

The cumulative outcome of all this was to give Muslims a lesson in political realism and self-reliance. In the beginning they had placed their trust in British promises and sense of justice. Disappointed with the British, they presently turned to the Hindus.⁴ This

1 Noman, *op. cit.* p. 236 *

2 *Ibid.*, p. 237.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 238.

4 "We put faith....." said Dr. Abdullah al-M'amun Suhrawardy, "in the words of our British rulers, and we were cruelly betrayed and let down. Why not try and put faith in the words of our Hindu brethren?" *Indian Central Committee-Supplementary Note* (Calcutta, 1930), p. 23.

policy they pursued with all sincerity: not only did they agree in the Lucknow Pact to sacrifice their majorities in the Punjab and Bengal; they even unreservedly accepted Gandhi's leadership during the Khilafat Movement. Yet, their attitude was never appreciated. On the contrary the more extremist sections among the Hindus started movements directed against their very existence. Many of their erstwhile colleagues had joined these anti-Muslim activities. Those who still remained in the nationalist camp failed to exert their influence against the rising tide of Hindu communalism. No wonder, the Muslims felt betrayed and lost faith in the Congress.¹

Yet another factor, no less significant, contributed to this change in the Muslim attitude. After 1912 the Indian Muslims had come under the grip of mounting pan-Islamic feeling, a passion long simmering in the body-politic of Indian Islam, but only now whipped up to feverish heat as a result of the provocative British policies towards Turkey and Iran, the only two really independent Muslim States in the world. Provoked thus, they had sought to espouse the cause of independent Muslim States and peoples abroad, but only to be brusquely repudiated by them. The rude jolts they received at Turkish, Arab and Afghan hands² during

¹ The unceremonious rejection by Congress at its Co. Canada Session of the "Bengal Pact" of 1923 formulated by the Bengal Swarajya Party under C. R. Das' leadership, made the Muslims wonder how serious and sincere the Congress was in its desire to arrive at a permanent settlement with the Muslims. For details, See V. P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India* (Calcutta, 1957), p. 31; also Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom* (Calcutta, 1959), pp. 20f. Its rejection by the Congress, and repudiation by Bengal Hindus, after the death of C. R. Das, was bitterly resented by the Muslims. According to Azad (*op. cit.*, p. 21), "The result was that the Muslims of Bengal moved away from the Congress and the first seeds of Partition were sown."

² The Turks not only abolished the Khilafat in 1924 but also, to add insult to injury, characterised certain Muslim leaders as agents of British imperialism (Arnold J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs: 1925*, Vol. I: *The Islamic World Since the Peace Settlement*, London, 1925, pp. 555ff). For the attitude of the Arabs and Afghans see Chapter on Khilafat.

and after the Khilafat movement did not altogether deflect them from their pan-Islamic idealism. However, the stark realities of their own situation began to thrust themselves with greater force upon their attention.

The upshot of the triple disappointment at the hands of the British, the Hindus and the Muslims abroad was that, as despair gave way to self-introspection, they slowly came to believe in chalking out for themselves an independent programme. If they were to have a destiny in India, they alone must be its architects. Hitching their wagons to the star of the British or the Hindus could only bring them to grief; it would certainly not secure them their rightful place in the life of the subcontinent.

Such was the mood of the Indian Muslims on the eve of the appointment in 1927 of the Statutory Commission on Reforms, popularly known as the Simon Commission. But the Muslims, though disappointed in the Congress, were yet listless and inert, and far from united. Despite the abolition of the Khilafat, certain Khilafat Committees continued to function and claim the allegiance of the Indian Muslims. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema and certain individual Muslim leaders also claimed to speak on their behalf. Jinnah, therefore, endeavoured to reorganise the League and consolidate its position. He had yet not lost faith in the objective of Hindu-Muslim unity, and had envisaged, in his Lahore (1924) Address, the possibility of working, through the League, towards a settlement on the lines of the Lucknow Pact. Later in 1927, Jinnah held a conference in Delhi and formulated the Delhi Muslim Proposals which, though not accepted in toto, did however, become the basis of negotiations between the Congress and the

Muslims during 1927-29.¹

Soon came the appointment of the all-White Simon Commission. Hindus, Muslims and the rest alike felt insulted at their exclusion, and decided to boycott it. Sir Muhammad Shafi however revolted against the Central League's decision to have no truck with the Commission, refused to join the League Session at Calcutta (1927) and, instead, convened a meeting in Lahore of his own faction to welcome the Commission. At this the Central League disaffiliated the provincial branch.²

In February 1928 was held an All Parties Conference in Delhi under Congress auspices to draw up a constitution acceptable to all Parties. It took certain decisions on the future constitution of India, and a Committee appointed by this Conference, later, produced a draft constitution, known as the Nehru Report.³ The Muslim League, in its anxiety to settle the Hindu-Muslim question, was prepared to accept joint electorates if their demands regarding the separation of Sind and Muslim representation in the Panjab, Bengal and the Central legislature were accepted. Sir Muhammad Shafi, on the other hand, stood for separate electorates and cooperation with the British. An All-Parties Muslim Conference, convened in 1928 under Aga Khan III to formulate the demands of the non-Leaguers, registered its bitter hostility to the Nehru Report. To bridge these differences in Muslim ranks and to accommodate, as far as possible, the various Muslim view-points, Jinnah formulated his famous "Fourteen Points". The League

¹ Saiyid, *op. cit.*, pp. 305, 308, 368f; Noman *op. cit.*, pp. 244f; Tufail Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

² Noman, *op. cit.*, pp. 264f; Saiyid, *op. cit.*, pp. 405ff.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 432f. For more details about Nehru Report and Muslim reaction to it, see Chapter II.

Session of 1928 in Calcutta proved inconclusive and was adjourned; it next met in March 1929 in Delhi to discuss the "Fourteen Points". A premature attempt to get the Nehru Report passed in the absence of Jinnah, the President of the Session, was nipped in the bud, and this Session was also adjourned.¹ Muslim India thus presented a spectacle of disunity and confusion but, except for a few Congress Muslims, it was united in its rejection of the Nehru Report—unless its own demands were incorporated in it.²

But the Hindus and the Congress seemed in no mood to concede Muslim demands; the National Convention of December, 1928 had even negatived Jinnah's very moderate demands regarding the Nehru Report. And in the teeth of opposition of Muslims and the minorities, the Congress called on the British to accept the Nehru Report and enforce the constitution before 31 December, 1929. The Muslim desire to settle the communal problem before fighting the British was not heeded; instead, the Congress started in 1930 a civil disobedience movement to browbeat the British into handing over power to it.³ Such was the recalcitrant Hindu mood when 'Allamah Muhammad Iqbal demanded in his Presidential Address to the League Session at

1 *Ibid.* pp 423-444.

2 Muslim reaction to Nehru Report is ably summed up in the following words of Maulana Mohamed Ali: "I cannot give up my religious beliefs to please the Hindus. During the times of the East India Company, whenever an announcement was made, it was prefaced with the words, 'The people belong to God, the country to the King-Emperor but the edict is of and from the Company Bahadur'. On the other hand, what the Congress aims through the Nehru Report today is merely this, 'The people belong to God, the country to the Viceroy or the Parliament, but the edict is of and from the Mahasabha Bahadur';" (cited in Wahid Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 200f; translated from Urdu). See also Sir Stanley Reed (ed.) *The Indian Year Book, 1935-36*, Vol. XXXII (Bombay, 1935), p. 962.

3 Reed, *op. cit.*, p. 963.

Allahabad in December 1930, the formation of a Muslim State in north-western India.¹

In view of mounting Congress hostility, the Muslims strove hard to consolidate their position and present a united front at the Round Table Conference. Faced with the emergence in 1929 of a new group styling itself as "Nationalist Muslims", the All-India Muslim Conference met to reiterate the "Fourteen Points" and "to declare that the continuance of the majority community in its present state of mind would produce civil war".²

In the meantime, countless attempts were made in 1932-33, to consolidate the ranks of the Muslims and to compose differences between the various groups, especially between the League and the Conference—but to no avail. Ultimately, "a manifesto signed by leaders of the various provinces urged the rehabilitation of the League into the 'Parliament of the Indian Muslims' and a cable was sent to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who was then in England, to return to India, assume charge of the League and

¹ Edward Thompson (*Enlist India for Freedom*) claims that Iqbal confessed to him that he (Iqbal) "advocated Pakistan because of his position as president of the Moslem League session, but he felt sure that it would be injurious to India as a whole and to Moslems specially". This statement, quoted frequently and *ad nauseum* by Congress and pro-Congress writers—for instance by Jawaharlal Nehru (*The Discovery of India*, New York, 1946, p. 354; hereafter referred to by the work's title)—is, on the very face of it, absurd. Iqbal, in the first place, was no moral coward to go against his own conscience; secondly, he continued to advocate the Pakistan idea till his very death—as, for instance, in his letters to Jinnah. (See *Struggle for Independence, 1857-1947* Karachi, 1953, Appendix V). In the Address itself he says explicitly that his idea was ahead of the League thinking at that time and that he was putting forward the idea as his own thought. To quote his own words, "and I have no doubt that this House will emphatically endorse the Muslim demand, embodied in this resolution. Personally I would go further than the demands embodied in it". Immediately follows his famous proposal regarding the establishment of a Muslim State. In a way, however, this palpably false attribution provides an unmistakeable index to the nature of Congress propaganda

² Reed, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

restore it to us original status and influence".¹ Soon, however, fresh dissensions broke out among the office-bearers of the League, and two rival Sessions were held towards the end of the year 1933, one in Calcutta and the other in Delhi. The Communal Award had been published, and in view of growing Hindu hostility to it, it was essential to consolidate the gains made by the community. And this could not be done unless the Muslims composed their differences. The Aga Khan and later, Jinnah, after his return in 1934, therefore, made vigorous efforts to resolve the differences among the various Muslim groups and to convince them that the League was the only organisation which could guard the interests of the Muslims. In the result, the various groups—"the most representative" in the last two decades—attended the meeting of the League Council in April 1934 and resolved to accept "the Communal Award so far as it goes until a substitute is agreed upon by the various communities and parties to secure such future constitution for India as would be acceptable to the country."²

About the same time. Maulana Shaukat Ali busied himself with peace moves amongst the Muslims which culminated in a series of unity conferences, and, ultimately, in the formation of a Unity Board consisting of the representatives of the various organisations each of which continued to function as a separate entity. In the 1934 central elections, the candidates put up by the Board secured a fair measure of success; the League as such did not contest these elections. Though seemingly inclined towards the Congress, the Board, however, took

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 964f.

² *Ibid.*, and Salyid, *op. cit.*, pp. 509f.

the same stand as the League, in respect of the Communal Award.¹

In fact, "whatever the differences among the various sections of the Muslims, the community was united on the Communal Award. The Muslim insistence on accepting it became firmer with increasing propaganda carried on by the Hindus. . . . As time passed by and the Hindu agitation against the Award grew in intensity, Muslim support to it grew correspondingly."² In late 1934, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference warned the authorities that any modification in the provisions of the Communal Award affecting Muslim safeguards without Muslim consent would render any constitution unacceptable to Muslims. During the debate on the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee in February 1935, Jinnah persuaded the Central Assembly to endorse the Muslim stand on the Communal Award. He also induced the Assembly to reject the Federation scheme in the White Paper, whereas he was content with merely criticising its scheme of Provincial Government which he wished to try "for what is worth".³

In early 1935 Jinnah entered into prolonged negotiations with Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, and, finally, evolved a formula, but the opposition of the Bengal and Panjab Hindus to some of its provisions sealed the fate of the parleys.

By this time the Muslims, though still believing in a Hindu-Muslim rapprochement, had become fully convinced of the need to organise themselves. The mood which gripped them in the post-Khilafat period seemed

¹ Reed, *op. cit.*, pp. 964f.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 965f.

³ Saiyid, *op. cit.*, pp. 516-19 For details, see Chapter 15.

to be reaching its culmination. "Organise yourself and play your part", exhorted Jinnah when asked to speak at a Jamiat-ul-Ulama Conference at Delhi in 1936. "After all there was nothing wrong in working for one's own community. Should one shirk from his paramount duty to help his community simply because certain persons styling themselves as 'nationalist' would decry him as communalist? No, do not listen to their taunts. Should the eighty million Muslims be more organised, they would be all the more useful for the impending national struggle. In fact, the Hindus and the Muslims should be organised separately, for then alone would they be able to appreciate each other's aspirations better and come to a genuine understanding."

With such views which represented the pith of Jinnah's address at the Jamiat gathering, he set about systematically and with determination, the task of reorganising the Muslim League and injecting life and virility into it. But the task was far from easy. He, however, took the first step in this direction and called the League Session in April 1936 under Sir Wazir Hasan's presidency. Here, at this meeting, the League defined its policy regarding the Government of India Act, 1935. The Federal Scheme should be scrapped as "it is most reactionary, retrograde, injurious and fatal to the vital interests of British India vis-a-vis the Indian States, and . . . calculated to thwart and delay indefinitely the realisation of India's most cherished goal of complete responsible Government. . ."; on the other hand, the Provincial Scheme, in spite of its certain objectionable features, should be utilised "for what it is worth".¹

The League, also, decided to contest the coming provincial elections, and authorised Jinnah to set up a

¹ Saiyid, *op. cit.*, p. 541.

Central Election Board under his presidentship. In pursuit of this task, Jinnah got in touch with various Muslim leaders in the provinces, only to realise the staggering nature of the task ahead. The League, as we have noted, was still dormant: primary organisations it had none; its provincial branches were far from well-organised in most provinces, and existed but in name in some. It had little by way of central policy, at least till the Bombay Session of 1936; central control it had none. Besides, the provincial scene presented a jigsaw puzzle: various Muslim leaders had set up their own organisations. In the Panjab, Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain had formed the Unionist Party and would have nothing to do with the League. In Bengal functioned the Krishak Praja Party under Fazlul Huq. In the U. P. the Nawab of Chhatari had organised the Nationalist Agricultural Party to advance the interests of the zamindars on a pro-British basis. In Sind, Sir Abdullah Haroon refused to join hands with the League; so did Sayyid Abdul Aziz in Bihar. In the Frontier, the Khan Brothers had made common cause with the Congress and had practically merged the Red Shirt Movement in it.¹ The Ahrars would not join the League because the Qadianis were not barred from its membership; Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and his "Ittihad-i-Millat", on the other hand, would not cooperate because the Ahrars were not excluded from the League.²

Such were the divisive forces that convulsed Muslim politics in 1936. "But in the midst of all this darkness there shone a flickering light in Lahore":³ he was Jinnah's only and supreme consolation. This was

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 553f.

2 Noman, *op. cit.*, pp. 329, 331.

3 Sayid, *op. cit.*, p. 554.

Iqbal who stood steadfast by Jinnah in those trying days and helped charter the course of Indo-Muslim politics.

In spite of the opposition put up by the Congress and some Muslim organisations, in spite of the lack of an effective and well-directed election machinery and in spite of meagre finances, the League contested the elections and did fairly well.

While the Congress had won majorities or a commanding position in the Hindu majority provinces, it had fared badly in Muslim majority provinces. True, the League had not captured a majority of Muslim seats, but it is more significant that the Congress had won less than 6 per cent of the total Muslim seats; of this more than half in the Frontier and only about 2.5 per cent of Muslim seats in the rest of India.¹ The Muslims were divided, it is true, into a number of splinter groups but they were definitely not with the Congress. In its chequered history of fifty years, the election results repudiated, as nothing else did, the Congress claim to speak on behalf of the Muslims.

And this was a gain, a tremendous gain, from the League's view-point. The League, it is true, had not yet succeeded in uniting Muslims on one platform; but even so, all was not yet lost. Encouraged thus, the League leaders set to work, and through its attitude towards the Hindu-Muslim question the Congress played into their hands.

The League, as we have seen, had always been anxious to settle the Hindu-Muslim question. Within ten years of its birth, it had entered into the Lucknow Pact with the Congress by which it stood through thick and

¹ Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. II (1935-47) (Bombay, 1947) pp. 38f; R. Coupland *The Constitutional Problem in India*, Part II, *The Indian Politics, 1936-42* (London 1943), p. 16; R. Palme Dutt, *India Today and Tomorrow* (London, 1955), p. 233.)

thin. The settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question on the lines of this Pact had figured as one of the reasons for the resuscitation of the League by Jinnah in 1924. But the Congress had practically disowned it in the Nehru Report in that it repudiated the basic assumption of the Pact, viz., the separate entity of Muslims in Indian politics. Still, the League stood by it, and frequent nostalgic references to it figured in its pronouncements. The League election manifesto, for instance, hailed the Lucknow Pact as "one of the greatest beacon lights in the constitutional history of India" and as "a signal proof of the identity of purpose, earnestness and cooperation between the two great sections of the people of India". Furthermore, it affirmed its faith in "cooperation" with others.¹

Jinnah, under whose direction this manifesto was drafted, had himself stood as a symbol of that cooperation. He was the chief architect of the Lucknow Pact; his passion for Hindu-Muslim unity over the years had earned him, in Congress circles, the title of "the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity".² With that reputation, he tried in 1935 to negotiate an agreement with Rajendra Prasad on the Hindu-Muslim question. As leader of the Independent Party in the Central Assembly, he had, in the meantime, arrived at an understanding with the Congress Party and helped to defeat Government measures repeatedly. No wonder, he seemed anxious to "extend to the Provincial area the entente he had established at the Centre."³ In these efforts he, however, failed because of the developments which have been discussed elsewhere.

¹ Coupland, *op. cit.*, II: 14-15.

² Pandit Nehru refers to Jinnah by this epithet in his *An Autobiography* (*op. cit.*, p. 67), first published in 1937.

³ Coupland, *Indic: A Re-Statement* (London, 1945), pp. 151ff.

CHAPTER XII

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935

THE Act of 1935 was an unusual piece of constitutional legislation. It was passed after interminable discussion. Contriving a constitution for the subcontinent which has an area of 1,570,000 square miles, a population approaching at that time 340 million, inhabited by numerous races and tribes, speaking a dozen main languages, and distinct from one another in origin, tradition and manner of life, was an enormous undertaking. The two major elements in India's life, Hindus and Muslims, were divided by religion as well as by law and culture. Indeed, they formed two separate nations. The presence of an infinite variety of other religions and sects, ranging from the simple beliefs of animism to the mystical speculations of Buddhism added to the immensity of the task. The British Rule had transformed the subcontinent into a single unitary State. The introduction of Western education in the nineteenth century had initiated a vast transition in values and modes of thought and bred a sense of superficial unity among its recipients. The controlling hand of Britain had temporarily suppressed the disruptive forces generated by religious, racial and linguistic wrangles. The educated minority had studied the British constitutional history, digested its object lessons. It demanded the establishment of self-governing institu-

tions on the British model. Elements of constitutionalism had been gradually woven into the administrative system during the British regime. The development embodied in the Acts of 1853, 1861, 1892, 1909, followed some sort of logic and seemed to be advancing the country, though unconsciously, in the direction of parliamentary Government after the British pattern. The Act of 1919 represents a conscious and deliberate effort to introduce the parliamentary system. Most of the constitutional schemes propounded by the politicians closely followed the British model and their authors assumed that British institutions could be established in the subcontinent merely by reproducing the provisions of the constitutional law of United Kingdom. The framers of the Act of 1935 did not labour under any such illusions. They expressed the view that responsible government was not an automatic device to be manufactured to specification; nor could it be likened to a machine which would run on a motive power of its own. The British parliamentary government, they postulated, depends for its success on the interaction of four essential factors: the principle of majority rule; the willingness of the minority for the time being to accept the decisions of the majority; the existence of political parties agreed on fundamentals but divided only on broad issues of policy; and finally the existence of a mobile body of public opinion, watchfully standing above party loyalties and instinctively reacting against the extravagances of either party in general elections to keep "the vessel on an even keel".

None of these factors could be said to exist here. There were no political parties, for political parties are organisations of persons holding opinions which can be modified or altered. Mobile opinion was practically

non-existent. There were numerous and exclusive minority groups anxious about their future and profoundly suspicious of the majority. The rigid Hindu caste system was itself inconsistent with the democratic principle.

The main issues of politics in the subcontinent had been clarified in the constitutional debates of the preceding decade which went on in the midst of conditions not much different from those of a civil commotion. The Hindus stood solidly for an unqualified form of Western parliamentarism and unrestrained majority rule. The Muslims questioned the viability of this system in the peculiar social conditions of the sub-continent. The Hindus fought electoral separatism tooth and nail. The Muslims were bent on maintaining it. The Hindus would place the Provinces under the thralldom of a powerful Central Government. The Muslims would not accept anything short of a constitution which did not give complete autonomy to Provinces. Basic differences, such as these, admitted of no compromise and were hard to compose. Parliamentary government is doomed in the absence of those uniting and unifying forces which the sociologist calls the "we feeling". The report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, on which the Act was based, is full of analytical wisdom. Its authors summed up the Indian situation in such pithy observations:

A completely united Indian policy cannot be established either now or, so far as human foresight can extend, at any time.

The picture presented by India is that of a country with a population so far from homogeneous and so divided that government by majority rule is admittedly impossible at the present time.

Meanwhile it must be recognised that, if free play

were given to the powerful forces which would be set in motion by an unqualified system of parliamentary government, the consequences would be disastrous to India, and perhaps irreparable.

The success of a constitution depends, indeed, far more upon the manner and spirit in which it is worked than upon its formal provisions. It is impossible to foresee, so strange and perplexing are the conditions of the problem, the exact lines which constitutional development will eventually follow, and it is, therefore, the more desirable that those upon whom responsibility will rest should have all reasonable scope for working out their own salvation by the method of trial and error

And yet the Committee tackled the job of constitution building in complete disregard of political realities and its labours were characterised by a timidity of approach and lack of vision. The makers of the Act dwelt at length on the insuperable difficulties of democratising the subcontinent and maintaining its unity at the political level, but they pathetically pursued the phantom of Indian unity.

The form of responsible government the Act imposed had strong reactionary predilections and was nullified by selfish reservation of powers. It concentrated the ultimate decision making and executive powers in the Governor and made ample provision for the protection of Britain's vested interests. Wherever one set of clauses transfers powers from British to Indian hands, the succeeding clauses enact limitations around its exercise. The Act sought to preserve the unitary framework of the Government by producing a spurious federation. The impracticality of a United India was nowhere more strongly spotlighted than in the paragraphs dealing with

the construction of a Central Legislature. A legislative body representing a population of 340 millions was without a precedent. It was well-nigh impossible to apply the representative system on a basis of direct representation to a unit of this magnitude. If the constituencies were of a reasonable size the resultant chamber would be unmanageably large; if on the other hand, the chamber were of a reasonable size the constituencies on which it was based would necessarily be enormous. Either course would be disastrous. The only conceivable alternative was found in an indirectly elected chamber. The Act lightly trespassed into the domain of codification and indulged in a lengthy fashion in quite a number of subjects which could be more suitably dealt with under ordinary law. The British parliament professedly gave the subcontinent a flexible constitution, a strong executive and an efficient civil service. In doing so it stuffed the Act with good deal of administrative detail which ordinarily lies beyond the scope of Constitution Act.

Some parts of the Act, notably those dealing with the system of elections and distribution of seats in legislatures, could be interpreted as representing a response to Muslim political demands, but the operative parts of the Act (i.e. the very limited character of Provincial Autonomy and far-reaching powers of interference in provincial matters allowed to the Governor-General) were in cosonance with the vociferous political unitarism of Hindu communalism.

A bulky part of the Act elaborated the scheme of Provincial Autonomy which formed, so to speak, the corner stone of the new constitution. It was considered in all its bearings and was formulated with meticulous precision. The idea of Provinces exercising original and

inherent jurisdiction was not new and did not constitute a revolutionary break with the past. Needs of administration in a territory of continental proportions had long indicated that course. The unobtrusive and steady process of administrative devolution from the Government of India to Provincial Governments began as far back as the last quarter of the nineteenth century and had considerably modified the original administrative structure. In the face of the size and heterogeneity of the subcontinent the inevitability of Provincial Autonomy had been more or less accepted by all serious students of politics. The Provinces had been gradually emancipated from the over-bearing control of the Centre. Some of them had developed personalities of their own and were now ripe for the grant of greater liberty in the management of their affairs.

The Act of 1919 was designed to help the growth of responsible provincial citizenship. But in practice it tended to develop a wholly different attitude. The Provincial Governments exercised a devolved and not an original jurisdiction over certain subjects designated as provincial. The Dyarchical Government functioned in water-tight compartments which had been partitioned off by the clauses of the Constitution. But in spite of its shortcomings, Dyarchy brought a large number of public men into contact with a new type of Government. By 1930 it had overgrown its limits and was thoroughly discredited. The Act of 1935 did away with Dyarchy and threw the responsibility for the whole field of Provincial Government on Provincial Ministers. The economic, geographical and cultural differences between the Provinces, the vast distances within the subcontinent and the increasing complexity of Government reinforced the arguments for the freedom of Provinces.

While there was general unanimity about the desirability of the Federal form of Government, there was a sharp cleavage of opinion with regard to the location of the residuary power. The Hindu political organizations contended that it rightfully belonged to the Centre. The Muslims argued as strongly in favour of its consignment to Provinces. The logic of Federalism was obviously on the Muslim side. The Act, however distributed legislative powers between the Central and Provincial Legislatures, and defined the Central and Provincial spheres of Government by reference to that division. Separate lists of Central and Provincial subjects were appended to the Act. Side by side with these two lists there was a third one which set out subjects on which both the Central and the Provincial Legislatures had the power of concurrent legislation. The plan was defended on the ground that there were certain matters, apparently of Provincial concern, which could not be exclusively allocated to the Provinces, for "the Central legislature should also have a legislative jurisdiction, to enable it in some cases to secure uniformity in the main principles of law throughout the country, in others to guide and encourage Provincial effort, and in others again to provide remedies for mischiefs arising in the Provincial sphere but extending or liable to extend beyond the boundaries of a single province... It would in our view be disastrous if the uniformity of law which the Indian Codes provide were destroyed or whittled away by the unco-ordinated action of Provincial legislature...."

Paying lip service to the necessity and benefits of Provincial Autonomy, the makers of the Constitution could not rid themselves of the obsession of Indian unity.

The three lists enumerating the Central, Provincial

and concurrent subjects were long and complex. They were so widely drawn that they appeared to cover the whole field of legislative activity and leave no residue of power whatever. But it is beyond the ingenuity of the most accomplished draftsman to assume that he has provided for every possible legislative situation or that unknown and unsuspected subjects of law-making would not arise. The disposal of this residue was entrusted neither to the Centre nor to the Provinces. It was assigned to the Governor-General who would examine each case as it arose and would earmark a subject Central or Provincial as he thought fit. His decision was to have statutory force.

The boundaries of the ten Indian Provinces had been fixed by accidents of history. They were at variance with ethnic and cultural considerations. Their readjustment was overdue. The Report of the Statutory Commission had hinted at the resulting anomalies. But the gruelling agitation that arose over the Partition of Bengal (1905-11) was still a living memory. The subject was tabooed and no Government had the courage to open it. It was again left unexplored. The Act retained the existing boundaries of the Provinces only with such alterations as were necessitated by the establishment of Sind and Orissa as independent Provinces. The former was to be carved out of Bombay and the latter mainly out of the Province of Bihar and Orissa, though its area was augmented by the addition of small bits of territory from Madras and the Central Provinces. The separation of Sind from Bombay had given rise to an acute political controversy in the twenties. Sind was culturally and geographically distinct from Bombay and was separated from its mainland by a vast desert. The case for separation had been pressed by every mentionable

Muslim political organisation in the subcontinent. It was vehemently opposed by the economically powerful Hindu minority of Sind which formed 27 percent of its population and the majority of its propertied voters, and which resented being torn from the Province of Bombay which shared its communal sympathies. The alternative of a union between Sind and the Panjab had many advocates, particularly in the later half of the nineteenth century, on account of the joint interest of the two territories in the waters of the Indus. But an amalgamation with the Panjab was alarming to vested interests and the proposal was buried.

Sind was made into a separate Province and Hindu truculence was appeased by the community receiving a disproportionately large share of seats in the newly-formed Legislature. The union between Bihar and Orissa was cited as a glaring instance of the artificial grouping of naturally unrelated areas. The Oriyya demand for disjunction was admitted and the Province started as a homogeneous unit, both racially and linguistically.

Even under the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution the Provincial Governor enjoyed great prestige and authority. He was not only the titular but also the actual head of a large sector of Provincial Administration. In the "Transferred" sphere, where he was generally supposed to be guided by the advice of Ministers, he wielded great influence, political as well as constitutional. He presided at the ministerial meetings and the Ministers were accustomed to look up to him for support and guidance. The Act of 1935 vested the whole executive authority of the Province in the Governor as the representative of the King, and established a sort of gubernatorial autocracy. It is true that the Governor

was given a Council of Ministers to "aid and advice" him. But Ministers were not competent to advise upon matters falling within his Discretion or the area of his Special Responsibilities.

Broadly speaking, the relations of the Governor with his Ministers were regulated by the Instrument of Instructions. Issued in the name of the Sovereign, these Instruments had been familiar since the old colonial times. They defined the extent to which the Governor was to be bound by English precedent and analogy in lands where the application of the whole body of English doctrine in its most developed form was either inappropriate or inopportune. But Indian Instruments were a class by themselves. They were communicated to Parliament in the draft form. Their contents were debated and modified by both Houses before they were adopted. Ostensibly, the Instrument was meant to be a convenient mode of adjusting the legal framework to successive stages of political growth. But the real purpose of this novel procedure was stated by the Joint Parliamentary Committee in the following terms:—

".... so grave are the issues involved in the evolution of the Indian constitution that it would be neither wise nor safe to deny Parliament a voice in the determination of its progressive stages. The initiative in proposing any changes in the Instruments must necessarily rest with the government of the day; but the consequences of any action taken may be so far-reaching and so difficult to foresee that Parliament, if denied a prior right of intervention, may find itself compromised in the discharge of the responsibilities which it had assumed

towards India..it is with Parliament that the final word should rest."

This language reasserts the old position and is symptomatic of an extreme reluctance to part with power. It chimes almost exactly with the phraseology used in the preamble of the Act of 1919:

..... and whereas progress in giving effect to this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. . . And where as the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples.....

In spite of another and "larger" measure of political advance allowed after several years of inquiry and argumentation the reality about political control was unaltered. The relaxation of Parliamentary Sovereignty was not contemplated. The overall mastery of British Parliament continued unimpaired.

The political parsimony of the constitution-makers is further illustrated by the provisions relating to the Special Responsibilities of the Governor read along with authoritative explanations rendered by the Joint Parliamentary Committee. These Responsibilities may be technically equated with prerogative powers of the Crown. But whereas in Britain the prerogatives of the Crown have been silently converted into the rights of the people, the Special Responsibilities of the Governor were conceived in a different spirit. They conferred an inherent legal right on the Governor to act independently and covered a spacious field which included:

- (a) the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the Province, or any part thereof;

- (b) the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities;
- (c) the securing to the members of the Public Services of any rights provided for them by the Constitution and the safeguarding of their legitimate interests;
- (d) the prevention of commercial discrimination;
- (e) the protection of the rights of Indian States;
- (f) securing the execution of orders lawfully issued by the Governor-General.

In the region of the Special Responsibilities, says the Report, "it will be constitutionally proper for the Governor, after receiving ministerial advice, to signify his dissent from it and even to act in opposition to it, if in his own unfettered judgement he is of opinion that the circumstances of the case so require." In view of its ramification the Committee felt constrained to expound the subject with rigorous logic, and an examination of its opinions, impressions and findings brings out in full relief the fears and preoccupations of the British Rulers of India.

With regard to the preservation of the peace of the province it was urged on the Joint Parliamentary Committee by a group of leaders that this Special Responsibility should be restricted in its scope and its operation limited to cases in which the menace arose directly out of subversive activities tending to crimes of violence and that the action taken under it should be confined to the department of law and order alone. The suggestion was rejected, the Committee holding that the peace of the Province was not menaced by subversive movements alone. "Ill-advised" measures taken by Ministers in departments like land revenue and public health could be equally dangerous and lead to similar

results. From this generic view of the Special Responsibility flowed not only the gubernatorial power to overrule Ministers, but also special powers (legislative and financial) enabling the head of the province to adopt any course of action requiring legislative or financial provision: thus, if the Governor felt that the action or inaction of Ministers was jeopardising the "peace" of the Province, it was his duty to meet the situation. If it called for immediate action, he could issue any executive order that he considered necessary. If the situation could not be remedied by an isolated executive order and the Minister was unable or unwilling to administer his charge on the lines indicated by the Governor, the latter could replace the individual Minister or the whole body of Ministers with or without resort to a dissolution of the legislature. If he failed to find an alternative Government, he could declare a breakdown of the Constitution and assume to himself all such powers as he judged requisite to retrieve the situation.

The portion of the Act dealing with the Governor's Special Responsibility for the protection of minority interests was vague and laconic. No legal definition of minorities or their legitimate interests was attempted. The term minority, however, could not be so construed as to extend to minorities in the political or parliamentary sense. The authors of the Act pointed out that the minorities referred to were the five or six well-recognised and more important racial and religious minorities generally included by usage in that expression, in whose interests the Governor's powers would usually have to be invoked. But circumstances might arise from time to time in which other well-defined sections of the population may have to be protected in one way or another.

The minority issue, as it was then called, was the most intractable issue of Indian politics. The central task of any Constitution was the adjustment of Hindu-Muslim relations. In evading the task of definitions the Joint Parliamentary Committee introduced the rule of thumb in politics. In effect, the Act empowered the Governor to name the minorities and to determine the nature of their legitimate interests. This legalised the freaks and vagaries of the man in the saddle.

The Act also enjoined upon the Governor to safeguard the constitutional rights of the Public Services and take care of their legitimate interests, which was again an elastic phrase. The intention was to guarantee to "public servants" not only their legal rights but also equitable treatment which, the Joint Parliamentary Committee opined, could not be compressed in a legal formula. Like other colonies and dependanceies India had served as an open field for the adventurous British youth for a couple of centuries. Numerous British families were traditionally associated with India. Several generations of their children had found dignified and remunerative careers in this subcontinent. The employment of Britons meant substantial retention of authority and brought much needed relief to embarrassed governments who could not find work for swarms of their citizens in a period of mounting unemployment and economic disorganisation. The repetition of the advice from senior British statesmen that the continuance of British personnel in India's Public Services was in India's own needs and interests was taken as insincere cant. The concensus of opinion in Britain was that the careers and prospects of the British members of Public Services could not be entirely placed at the mercy of Ministers responsible to legislatures, even if the Minis-

ters could be trusted to act in a reasonable way. The burden of guardianship was laid on the Governor. The Joint Parliamentary Committee theorised: "it is not because he expects his house to be burned down that a prudent man insures against fire. He adopts an ordinary business precaution, and his action in doing so is not to be construed as a reflection either upon his neighbour's integrity or his own".

The subject understandably engaged a prolonged and anxious consideration in the process of constitution making. The Civil Service in India was not to be compared to the Civil Service in Britain which is staffed by independent and competent persons capable of giving to successive Ministries advice based on long administrative experience but who are obliged to carry out the policy decided by the Government in accordance with the legislative mandate. The Civil Service in British India occupied a position of dominance in the counsels of the Government for over a century. They settled policies, made laws and carried out their prescriptions without let or hindrance. When the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were inaugurated in 1921, numerous British civil servants threw away their jobs because they could not adapt themselves to the conditions created even by a partial transfer of power. The Government was compelled to grant generous financial terms to those who stayed behind to provide them with an incentive to remain in India. These aids included free medical treatment of the British members of Services and their families by doctors of their own race, provision of a certain number of free passages for themselves and their children between India and England, enhanced rates of salaries and pensions and concession to remit their savings to the home country at a favourable rate

of exchange, the difference between the actual and the concessional rate being made up by the taxpayer. This extravagance represented an unjustifiable drain on the Indian exchequer and came to be called "Lee-loot", Lee being the Chairman of the Commission which looked into the question and made the aforesaid recommendations. It should also be added that up to 1921 the doors of higher ranks in Services were mostly closed to Indians. It was then that they began to be admitted grudgingly. By 1933, out of a total of 3428 incumbents of "Secretary of State's Services," which enjoyed the most elevated status among Services, only 1227 were Indians. Now that the next step was being taken, the Services felt nervous about the future. The change was also likely to intimidate the prospective British recruits from coming to India. The contentment of the Services was purchased by reducing the authority of Ministers and giving to the Governor large powers of administrative interference.

The array of legal rights of public servants written into the Statute was impressive: no Government servant could suffer dismissal or reduction in rank without being formally charge-sheeted and without getting an adequate opportunity for putting up proper defence. None could be dismissed by an authority subordinate to the one that appointed him. The Police and Civil Service had earned much abuse, detraction and obloquy in Congress circles for their part in putting down the various political movements, and in view of the threats which had been made all public servants were indemnified against civil and criminal proceedings in respect of acts committed by them in "good faith" in the maintenance of law and order. The Governor's Certificate would be conclusive on the question of "good faith". The

members of the Secretary of State's Service were placed in a more advantageous position. They were entitled by law to claim compensation for the loss of any of their existing rights and the amount of compensation was to be determined by the Secretary of State himself who, the Joint Parliamentary Committee hoped, would preserve a reasonable balance between the interests of the aggrieved parties on the one hand and those of Indian revenues on the other. Further, they were given the right to carry their complaints to the Governor (or the Governor-General in the Federal sphere) against any order from an official superior adversely affecting their conditions of service, the right to insist on such orders receiving the concurrence of the Governor before being carried out and the right to appeal to the Secretary of State if their grievances were not redressed at the lower level. Lastly, the sums payable to a member of Secretary of State's Services or his dependents would be exempt from the vote of the legislature. This catalogue of privileges is fairly comprehensive. But the Committee still perceived a sphere of contingencies which lay beyond chartered rights and was not susceptible of legal definition. This preserve of immunities was to be regulated by the Governor.

Apparently there is no reason why the commercial relations of a country should come in for a mention in its constitution. But in the chapter of Indo-British relations, trade had political rather than economic significance. In the shaping of British India the flag followed the trade. It was a body of merchants, i.e. the East India Company, which achieved the doubtful distinction of adding a continent like India to the Empire. Whatever the ties that held the two countries together, those of trade were the most valued in Britain. The British

products commanded monopolies in Indian markets for nearly a century. Younger competitors like Japan and Germany entered the field much later but their mischief was curbed by manipulating tariffs and excise duties. It was customary for the Government of India to purchase stores worth millions from abroad every year. India lost heavily in the transaction because her financial interests were freely sacrificed to those of Britain. Higher prices were paid for British manufactures while the same classes of goods could be purchased at lower prices in other European markets. In theory the Act of 1935 granted complete fiscal freedom to the Indian legislature. But some statements of a "very disturbing character" made by influential representatives of Indian industry and finance were made an excuse for putting stringent provisions for the protection of British commerce into the Act. It was for the Governor (or the Governor-General) to see that the economic interests of the United Kingdom were not injured in any way. In virtue of his Special Responsibilities the Governor-General could prevent both direct discrimination and indirect discrimination and veto the imposition of prohibitive tariffs. The various Indian legislatures did not have much elbowroom in this field either. The Act prohibited the enactment of bans on the entry of the United Kingdom residents into India and of laws imposing restrictions of "domicile, residence, language, race, religion or place of birth" on persons of United Kingdom domicile in respect of "matters relating to taxation, travel, the holding of property, the holding of public office, or the carrying on of any trade, business or profession in British India." Similarly a company incorporated in the United Kingdom was deemed to have met the requirements of all Indian laws about the place of

its incorporation and "the domicile, residence or duration of residence, language, race, religion, descent or place of birth", of its directors, shareholders, agents and servants. The Governor (or the Governor-General) was instructed to refuse signature to bills which though not discriminatory in form, would be discriminatory in their intent and operation.

In the thirties of this century the Princely States were passing through hard times. The period of their isolation was drawing to a close. Mass movements aiming at the destruction of autocracy in the States originated in Provinces. Their *bonafides* could not always be taken for granted. But they had a tremendous mass appeal and created upsurge in populations and harassed the Princes. The Governor's Special Responsibility for protecting the rights of Indian States was meant to hold the balance "between province and State, with due regard to the established rights of either party." This was a euphemistic way of saying that the States shall be shielded against the consequences of prejudicial legislation or administrative action taken in a neighbouring Province or hostile political agitation emanating therefrom. With the growth of political consciousness the States and their Rulers had come to be regarded as the bulwark of British Rule in the subcontinent. Now that they were being groomed as worthwhile associates in the Federal venture much was made of their internal sovereignty. The political sagacity of the Princes was magnified and their dependability as allies was emphasized. It was clear that the Princes were being drafted into the Federation not as protagonists of democracy or people's rights but as pillars and props of the vanishing order. Normally the relations of each State with British India were to be governed by the treaty

signed at the time of its entry into the Federation. But States had to be afforded additional protection if they were to fulfil their appointed role in the Federation. The Governor's duty towards Princes in distress was again summarised in a formula which could be stretched or contracted at will.

The Governor-General occupied the same pivotal position in the Federal structure as the Governor did in the Province and likewise enjoyed a wide range of powers. The exercise of some of these powers would naturally require the co-operation of provincial administration. The Act anticipated the growth of rivalries and conflicts between Provinces arising out of disparities of populations, culture and resources. It bade the Governor to secure "the execution of orders lawfully issued by the Governor-General" and put down provincial recalcitrance even if it involved him in opposition to his own Minister.

In general the Government of a Province was to follow the pattern of British Parliamentary system. The Instrument of Instructions directed the Governor to select his Ministers in consultation with the person who in his judgement was likely to command the largest following in the legislature, including *so far as possible* members of important minority communities, who would best be in a position collectively to command the confidence of the legislature. The essentially British principle was sure to stultify itself in India: representation of minorities in the Cabinet (so essential in India) could not be dovetailed into ministerial responsibility (in the British sense) to a legislature which was itself based on a system of separate representation and in which the numbers of the representatives of the different communities were fixed by statute and were unalterable.

Ministries thus formed would represent not the majority party, or even a coalition of parties, but also minorities as such. In these circumstances the weapon of dissolution which a hardpressed executive could brandish over the head of an obstructive legislature would be ineffective, for a general election would practically reproduce a legislature of the same complexion as the one which had been superseded. The Joint Parliamentary Committee noticed this red spot in the Constitution but talked round the problem. It pleaded its helplessness to suggest paper devices to regulate the relations between the Ministry and the legislature, wisely adding that collective responsibility is not a rule of law to be put into operation at discretion, but a constitutional convention which only usage and practice can define or enforce. But if pressed to indicate a solution the Joint Parliamentary Committee would give the "widest possible" latitude to the Governor in the selection of his Ministers. It would have preferred the Governor to select a Minister, or Ministers from outside the legislature if he found no talent within it.

The sphere of ministerial action was also subjected to close scrutiny and narrowed down as far as the constitution-makers could help it. The dispute primarily raged round the administration of subjects compendiously known as law and order. A vocal section of British opinion, which would have it exclusively controlled by the Governor, urged that the maintenance of law and order was a vital function of the executive and that its transference to Indian Ministers was unsafe unless they had "proved their capacity in other and less dangerous fields." It was argued from the other side that the grant of responsible government to a Province would make no meaning in the absence of power to administer law

and order and that the quality of responsibility could not be justly attributed to a Government which had no responsibility for public order. The latter view was accepted but not without considerable hesitation and mental reservation. The Joint Parliamentary Committee recommended that law and order, like other departments, should be entrusted to the Minister. But the authors of the Report could not conceal their apprehensions and added: "it must not be supposed that we are blind to risks implicit in the course which we advocate; for these, in our opinion, cannot be regarded lightly or as the phantoms of a reactionary imagination." But having accepted the principle, the Committee immediately proceeded to fence it round with safeguards. Every precaution that it advised was incorporated into the Statute. The more important of these "safety" provisions put the police department beyond ministerial control.

The police force built up in different Provinces under the British Rule was contented, loyal and disciplined. It had implicit confidence in its officers and had been scrupulously kept out of politics. Time and again its efficiency had enabled the administration to tide over crises created by political agitations. The Government owed it a debt which could not be easily repaid. That is why it became a pampered service. It was the practice of politicians to attack it as an agent of oppression acting on behalf of an alien Power. In the coming days the morale of the police was likely to be undermined, and its loyalty apt to be divided. Formerly, it had looked up to its British masters. Now it would have to look up to Ministers, many of whom had experience of its rough methods in the course of their association with the political movement. If they could do it, the new Ministers would put the police in its proper

place and might even try to settle old scores with their former persecutors. If the traditional spirit of the police was to be kept alive and its serviceability (from the British point of view) preserved, it was essential to prevent the police from feeling that it had been left in the lurch. Consequently, the Act equipped the Governor with authority necessary to disallow ministerial measures calculated to destroy its "efficiency." The body of regulations known as the "Police Rules", framed under powers given by various Police Acts, was also protected in a special way. A large number of these rules dealt with matters of minor importance and were frequently amended. But others were of greater importance. The Act forbade the alteration or modification of any rule whatever without the express consent of the Governor. The same applied to any legislation amending or repealing provincial Police Acts. The net effect of these injunctions was to maintain inviolate the authority of the civil servant known as Inspector-General over the organisation and discipline of the police, and to reduce or eliminate altogether occasions for ministerial meddling.

The revolutionary and terrorist crime had been the running sore of the British dominion in India. The attention and ingenuity of crime investigating agencies was severely taxed in detecting and combating terrorism. The new Constitution gave unusual powers to the Governor to ensure that official vigilance of revolutionary conspirators was not slackened and the suppression of their activities remained as efficient and unhesitating as it had been in the past. One division of the police department, concerned with the suppression of terrorism, was singled out for an exclusive treatment. This organisation was sometimes called the "special branch"

and consisted of carefully selected officers charged with collecting and sifting information on which executive action against terrorism was taken. Its work necessarily involved the employment of agents and informers whose identity could not be revealed without the risk of drying up the sources of information. Consequently, the Instrument of Instructions directed the Governor to see that intelligence records of terrorism were handled with the utmost secrecy and guarded against the slightest danger of leakage. Even the Minister were denied access to these documents.

This list of the Governor's powers had a chilling effect on those who had expected a genuine loosening of bonds. The Joint Parliamentary Committee would not stop at this. It was of opinion that the Governor's executive powers (outlined above) alone would not suffice to meet the requirements of the situation. It was meet and proper to place at his disposal a store of legislative and financial powers as well. The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms had given the Governor a plenitude of overriding powers *vis-a-vis* the provincial legislature. These were to be amplified and carried into the new Constitution: When he saw the occasion, the Governor could send a duly drafted bill to the legislature, explain its objectives, emphasise its urgency in the accompanying message, demand its passage before a specified date and enact it as Governor's Act if the legislature refused compliance in the time and form desired by the Governor. This new power was more through-going than the one it replaced, and if exercised without caution, it was liable to degenerate into Government by decree. The power of issuing ordinances, whether for a single Province or for the whole of British India, belonged only to the Governor-General in the former

dispensation. But it was now ceded to the Governor in the provincial realm. These ordinances might be issued either in the implementation of Special Responsibilities or on ministerial advice. Legislative and executive ascendancy of the Governor was reinforced by financial dominance. He was free to add to the annual appropriations schedule any additional amounts of money—over and above those proposed by Ministers—which he considered imperative, and to restore the sums thus included if the legislature voted reduction or rejection. The combination of powers looked like the revival of absolutist traditions of Government. The only constitutional check on gubernatorial autocracy was to be found in the clause subjecting the Governor to the control of the Governor-General and through him of the Secretary of State in the exercise of his discretionary powers. In practice this would not mean much as there was bound to be a unanimity of outlook between all these dignitaries. The idea of rulers' accountability to the ruled is foreign to the Act of 1935. The superstructure of Governor's powers so laboriously built up was justified by argument, casuistry and sophistication and recommended by the Joint Parliamentary Committee as an "effective guarantee for the development of a genuine system of responsible government." Said the Report:

"... the responsibilities are defined and powers conferred, not for the purpose of superseding ministers or enabling them to escape responsibilities which properly belong to them, but primarily in order that the executive as a whole may possess the authority which experience shows to be essential to the success of parliamentary government."

The statement contains an important half-truth. We

may not deny the need for strong executive and yet we must challenge its over-weening role in political management. In the Constitution Act the Governor appears to be the real Ruler of the Province. He has a Council of Ministers and a legislature. But he overshadows and dwarfs both. His views colour every aspect of administration and his personal (and may be hasty and ill-formed) judgements and reactions to situations are hallowed by the Constitution. As we scan the various sections of the Act, the content of Provincial Autonomy is singularly slight. Provincial Autonomy, in fact, turns out to be gubernatorial Autonomy. If the authoritarianism of the Act did not materialise, the reason must be looked for in the rapidly worsening international situation and Britain's growing entanglements in the Far East.

Before we close the account of the provincial part of the Act, we may briefly review the build up of provincial legislatures. Six of them out of a total of eleven were to be bicameral, the rest unicameral. The composition of provincial legislatures, the allocation of seats to different communities and methods of election, had been settled by the Communal Award issued by the British Government on 4 August, 1932, and precipitately modified by the Poona Pact of 25 September, 1932, concluded under the pressure of Gandhi's "fast unto death" undertaken as a protest against "the introduction of an artificial division between the caste Hindus and the depressed classes". The Poona Pact surrendered to the depressed classes a number of seats out of the quantum of Hindu representation, involving a sizeable diminution of seats available for caste Hindus. The additional seats donated to the depressed classes were to be filled by an unusual form of double election. Influ-

essential sections of the Hindu community attacked the very foundations of the Award (i.e. the principles of separate representation and weightage) but other communities were disposed more or less to acquiesce in it in the absence of an agreed alternative.

The provincial electorate under the Constitution of 1919 formed approximately 3 per cent of the population of British India. (Women were also admitted to franchise, but their numbers were small). The Statutory Commission held this franchise to be too shrunken and pleaded for its extension to about 10 per cent of the population, particularly emphasising the need for increasing the ratio of women to men voters. In 1932 between the second and third Sessions of the Round Table Conference a Franchise Committee was appointed to go into the question. Its findings were ratified by the Act. The Committee made out a case for the continuance of property qualifications (i.e. the payment of land revenue, or of house rent in towns, tenancy and payment of income tax) as the basis of franchise, but added an additional literacy qualification and certain other tests designed to give adequate representation to women and to depressed classes. This increased the electorate from 3 per cent to 14 per cent of the population, raised the ratio of women voters from 1 in 20 to 1 in 4.5 and enfranchised the bulk of small cultivators, urban rate-payers and considerable sections of poorer classes. It was admitted on all hands that sudden extensions of franchise were invariably attended with muddles, both in the compilation of electoral rolls and in the actual conduct of elections.

The Muslim demand for full provincial autonomy had gained strength from the bullying and blustering tactics adopted by the Hindu Mahasabha. The Autonomy

of the Act was very different from what the Muslims had asked for. The legislative, budgetary and rule-making powers of provincial legislatures were severely limited. Numerous subjects lay outside their competence. Others they could only take up with the previous consent of the Governor or the Governor-General. The Governor could prevent the legislature from going ahead with a bill, clause or amendment if the ensuing discussions were likely to rouse feeling or raise issues which would call his Special Responsibilities into play. He was entitled to return a bill to the legislature for reconsideration in whole or in part, and no bill could become an act without his assent. He was also empowered to make rules for the conduct of legislative business in consultation with the presiding officer of the chamber and a rule thus made was to prevail over those made by the legislature in case they were mutually incompatible.

The illusory autonomy of Provinces was to lead to an equally illusory All-India policy in which both the Indian Provinces and the Indian States were to be federally united. This involved two distinct operations: the first was a necessary corollary to the establishment of autonomous Provinces, the other that of bringing British India and Indian States into a closer and newer relationship. The objects of Indian federalism, as conceived by the Joint Parliamentary Committee, were:

- (a) the preservation of the administrative unity of India,
- (b) the strengthening of the Centre, and
- (c) the creation of a centre of common action for India as a whole. A few comments on these objectives will not be out of order.

During the ancient period India had seldom known political unity. The administrative unity of the subcon-

continent was a gift of the Muslims. The Hindu communalism was again sowing the seeds of disruption and the makers of the Act feared that they had gone too far in encouraging the Provinces to "develop a life of their own". In their view of things, Provincial Autonomy amounted to laying mines to Indian unity unless the Central Government were refashioned into a strong federal machine capable of holding together its centrifugal components. The Indian unity of British conception was "dangerously imperfect" without the participation of the States in the federation. At one stage the idea had attracted the Princes themselves. But on sober thoughts they realised its levelling effects on themselves and recanted; their support, however, once given was capitalised upon and they were being irresistably drawn into the coils of the federation much against their wishes.

The Joint Parliamentary Committee had correctly diagnosed the anaemic character of the Central executive under the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution. It had suffered in prestige as well as efficiency. Its legislature was merely a debating society. Its criticism was mainly destructive; still it had constantly and abundantly influenced the policies of the Government. The executive was demoralised. This state of affairs could only be remedied by a drastic reconstruction of the Central Government and making it responsible to the legislature in some degree.

The economic policies bearing on the interests of the entire country were formulated and carried out by several Governments acting independently of each other, giving rise to serious economic strains. An imposition of internal indirect taxation in British India involved the conclusion of agreements with a number of States for concurrent taxation within their frontiers. The subcon-

continent even lacked a general and uniform customs system. The administration of tariffs at maritime ports situated in the States was imperfectly coordinated with that of the British India ports. Tariff policies in which every part on the subcontinent was interested was decided by a Government in which States had no voice. A common company law, a common banking law, a common body of legislation on copyrights and trade marks, a common system of communications were alike impossible under prevailing conditions. The Joint Parliamentary Committee noticed all this but ended by declaring that the creation of a machinery for the formulation of uniform policies was a condition precedent to the new measure of decentralisation.

Thus far British India had been a unitary State. The superintendence, direction and control of the civil and military Government was by law vested in the Governor-General in Council. There was no exact historical precedent for the conversion of a unitary State into a federal one. Federations have commonly resulted from an agreement between independent or, at least, autonomous Governments, surrendering a defined part of sovereignty or autonomy to a new central organism. At the moment the British Indian Provinces were not even autonomous. They were subject to both the administrative and legislative control of the Government of India. The makers of the Act had first to create autonomous units and then join them in a federation. This hurdle was crossed by an ingenious legal fiction. The Act would come into force by the Crown resuming all rights, authority and jurisdiction in and over every part of British India to redistribute them between the Central Government and the Provincial Governments in the manner prescribed by law. A federation of British

Indian Provinces would thus be brought into existence. But the process of integrating States into the union was far from smooth. The States were wholly different in status and character from the Provinces. Their accession to the federation would not be automatic. The Constitution could only prescribe a procedure for their entry into the federation but could not force them to federate. They were free to join or stand aside. If they decided to come, they would not come in on the same terms as the Provinces. This would make the Indian federation a system of contradictions. While the powers of the Central Government in relation to Provinces covered a definite field and were identical in the case of each Province, the Rulers of the States were not prepared to allow the Central authorities to exercise an identical range of powers in relation to their dominions. In fact different States wished to dictate different terms. A federation composed of disparate constituent units, in which the powers and authority of the Central Government differs as between one constituent unit and another does not deserve to be called a federation.

Such a complicated federation could not be created to order. It was necessarily a long-term project and needed to be preceded by a good deal of spade work. Suitable financial, economic and political conditions had to be created for its establishment. The British Government did not favour the idea of a federation which included only the Provinces and an insignificant number of States. Therefore, it was enacted that the federation could not make a beginning unless Rulers of States representing not less than half the aggregate population of the States, and entitled to not less than half the seats allotted to the States in the federal Upper Chamber, had signified their desire to throw in their lot with British

India. In the past the autocracy of the Ruling Princes inside the States was only matched by the autocratic control to which they were subjected by the Government of India. The familiar description of Ruling Prince living a life of gross sensuous pleasure in an atmosphere of perpetual intrigue and heedless of the sufferings of his people and the administrative chaos around him was applicable to a vast majority among them. Fervent and enthusiastic demonstrations of loyalty to the British connection atoned for their sins of omission and commission and enabled them to keep their ranks and thrones. The Paramount Power, so was the British authority styled in its dealings with the States, took an indulgent view of and even connived at Princely laxities, but it visited them with instantaneous and condign chastisement on the merest suspicion of disloyalty. In the course of a century or so, the Rulers of the States had imbibed an attitude of pathetic docility towards the Paramount Power. It was not difficult to see that the Rulers or their representatives would sit in the federal legislature as the King's Party and would deem it a privilege to carry out the behests of the Crown Representative. This being the situation, it was not surprising that the Committee expressed a hope that the helpful collaboration of the Ruling Princes would go a long way in ensuring a strong and stable Central Government.

When the Federation became a reality, it was to have a responsible form of Government. But the Centre had its own problems and this responsibility would not extend to the departments of defence and foreign affairs. The responsibility of the Centre was to be in the nature of dyarchy with all its admitted disadvantages. The Federal Government would be the main point of contact between the Provinces and the States

and the connecting link between all its constituent units. Therefore, it alone was qualified, so ran the Joint Parliamentary Committee opinion, to bear the ultimate responsibility for the peace and tranquillity for the whole of the subcontinent. Some important sections of opinion in Britain had stoutly opposed the introduction of responsibility at the Centre. They canvassed the population that an irresponsible Centre would constitute a reserve of power which could effectively be used at any moment to redress any situation in any part of the subcontinent. But the Joint Parliamentary Committee defended its plan (which ultimately passed into law) on the ground that it furnished the Governor-General with equally extensive authority "through the interaction of his own and the provincial Governor's Special powers and Responsibilities".

CHAPTER XIII

THE URDU-HINDI CONTROVERSY

Hindi or *Hindawi* in the literal sense means anything Indian. Applied to language, its use goes back to at least the early Ghaznavid period, and from Al-Beruni and Baihaqi of the eleventh century down to Siraj-ud-din Khan *Arzu* who flourished in the eighteenth century, we find Muslim writers using the appellation loosely for any of the dialects (Grierson's "Tertiary Parakrits") spoken in the Panjab, Delhi or the Duab. It was also applied to a mixed idiom, which later emerged as a distinct language, finally entitled Urdu. In other words the illusive "Hindi" of the medieval authors embraced in its fold several Indo-Aryan languages belonging to the two families now known 'Western Hindi' and 'Eastern Hindi,' notable amongst them being: (1) Panjabi (2) Haryani (3) Bangru (4) Rajasthani (5) Brij Bhasha (6) Bundeli (7) Qannawji and (8) Maghi each having several local names and its own branches. All of them, with the exception of Panjabi or Maghi, used more or less a similar script for whatever meagre literature they possessed. They were, because of the script, lumped together under the vague appellation "Hindi" causing a good deal of confusion. In reality these dialects are as different from one another as, say, the Romance languages of South West Europe. Another

important fact to be remembered is that though still spoken in their habitats, roughly extending from Muttra to Banaras, these tongues ceased to have any literary pretensions since the beginning of the nineteenth century if not from still earlier days. In any case none of these "Hindis" ever came forward to challenge the supremacy of Urdu. It was quite a different brand of Hindi with which the controversy is concerned and which made its appearance only at the beginning of the last century under the direct inspiration of the authorities of Fort William College, Calcutta. The story of its birth is given by F. Keay, the author of "*A History of Hindi Literature*", in the following words: "A literary language for Hindi speaking people which could commend itself more to Hindus was very desirable and the result was obtained by taking Urdu and expelling from it words of Persian or Arabic origin and substituting for them words of Sanskrit or Hindi origin".¹

A Lucknow court poet, Insha-Allah Khan, in his frivolous mood had composed a short tale in colloquial idiom avoiding Arabic and Persian words, but the farseeing British Imperialists had more serious designs and perceived such a move to be the thin end of the wedge which might in time help to split the educated people of India into two communal blocks. Hence, Sadal Misra and Lalluji Lal were "directed" by John Gilchrist "to create a literary medium for the Hindus" in place of the "Persianised Hindi of the Mussalmans" that is, Urdu.

¹ *A History of Hindi Literature*, (Mysore edition, 1920), p. 88. An earlier authority relates: "High Hindi is purely a book language evolved under the influence of the English who induced native writers to compose works for general use in a form of Hindustani in which all the words of Arabic or Persian origin were omitted, Sanskrit words being employed in its place".

² *'A Literary History of India'* by R. W. Frarzer, (London 1898), p. 265.

The first fruit of these labours was Lalluji's work, called "*Prem Sagar*", printed in 1809. This is corroborated by a well-known Hindu scholar Dr. Tara Chand, who says, "some recent Hindi writers have protested against this account of the origin of Modern Hindi, but so far as I can see their protests do not seem to hold much water. It appears to me that a dispassionate study of the origin and growth of Modern Hindi (Sanskritized Hindustani) can lead only to one conclusion, namely that the language is only 135 years old and perhaps not even that, for although Sadal Misra and Lalluji Lal heralded the dawn of Modern Hindi it proved to be a false dawn as darkness descended upon Hindi again and was not lifted till after the "mutiny" of 1857, when Raja Shiva Parshad, Raja Lakshman Singh, Babu Harish Chandar and others lifted it once for all and ushered in the true dawn of Modern Hindi Literature".¹

It should be added here that one of the stipulations of the imperial grant-deed of *Diwani* to the East India Company expressly ordained continuation of Persian as the court language of India. But the rapid ascendancy of the British soon reduced the Mughul Emperors of Delhi to insignificance. In 1832² Persian was quietly replaced by "Hindostani". So far as is known nobody protested against this arbitrary alteration of the agreement unless we give credit for a subdued kind of passive resistance to the Hyderabad minister, Salar Jang I, who persisted till he died in 1883 in clinging to Persian for all official transactions in the Nizam's Dominion, as a relic of Muslim culture and supremacy. On the other

1 "Some Misconceptions about Hindustani" (Allahabad, circa 1936), p. 5.

2 There is some discrepancy regarding the date. I have followed the Ency. Britt. (Vol. II, p. 576a). But c. Dr. Abdul Haq, *Khutbat*, 276.

hand, substitution of Urdu did not evoke any complaints from the supporters, if there were any, of Lalluji's Hindi which had evidently failed to make any headway. As a matter of fact the politically Machiavellian Lallu-cum-Gilchrist product remained an unimportant literary innovation for a good many years. Urdu was meanwhile serving the purpose of a *lingua franca* practically all over India, proving itself a worthy successor to Persian in the field of *belles lettres* and poetry, entering the portals of Modern Science and Arts as a suitable medium of higher education in the Delhi College, and at the same time, with all its Arabic or Persian vocabulary, it was essentially an Indian Language.

A close study of the history of linguistic developments in medieval India is required to comprehend fully the various stages of the transformation of a congeries of Indian dialects into one language, known as Urdu. However it would suffice here to give some of the salient features of this philological phenomenon.

Sind was the earliest conquest of Islam in the subcontinent its language even now bears the impress of this early contact with Arabic. Similarly Persian was brought to the Punjab and the northern districts of Sind by the Muslim conquerors from Ghaznah. Having permanently settled down in these areas, their descendants, must have felt the need of being able to speak the patois of the localities where they had to pass their lives. An interesting testimony is furnished by the fact that Mas'ud Sa'd, the illustrious poet of Ghaznawid Lahore, who flourished in the eleventh century composed a *Diwan* in Hindi.¹ This earliest collection of Hindi verse

¹ See 'Awfi's *Lubabul-Albab*, Vol. 2.5.v. Amir Khursraw in the preface of his 3rd *Diwan* corroborates 'Awfi; also cf. Azad Bilgrami, *Khizanai 'Amirah* (Kanpur 1870), p. 15.

by a Muslim poet has unfortunately been lost. The following century and a half yielded, so far as it is known, only stray sayings and a couple of ditties of somewhat doubtful origin, which may be reckoned amongst the earliest specimens of Urdu.

Prof. Shirani maintains that the cradle of this mixed form of speech was the Panjab. In support of his thesis he has not only picked out many purely Panjabi words still current in Urdu but exposed some basic rules of inflexion or syntax governing both the languages.¹ Another valuable contribution to the history of Urdu was his painstaking researches into the Persian glossaries or dictionaries compiled in India as far back as the fourteenth or fifteenth century like the *Muayyid-al-Fudala*, *Sharaf-nama*, *Riadul Adwiyah* and others,² containing many indigenous terms that are still retained in our vocabulary.

In the meantime political upheavals were bringing about momentous social and cultural changes in India. An extensive Empire was built up by the Muslim conquerors with Delhi as its capital totally independent of Ghaznah or Ghor. To a student of history this may appear as the real formative period of the future Muslim nation in India. In the sphere of philological developments, one observes the versatile genius of the time, Amir Khusraw (650/1252—725/1325), mentioning a "Dehlawi" language which was neither Persian nor purely Hindi of the old variety but commonly spoken by his Muslim contemporaries. The term *Rikhta* is generally believed to have been coined by this eminent master of fine arts. Literally meaning "consolidated mixture" it was first applied to musical compositions

1 "*Punjab men Urdu*" (Lahore ed. 1949), pp. 54-136.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 200-201.

combining Persian and indigenous tunes in harmony with each other. We do not know how the term deviated from its original significance, but gradually in the next century, it came to be applied to various forms of poetry composed in the dialects of the Duab and Central India, freely borrowing words of Muslim culture and terms of Theology from Arab—Persian sources, written in *Naskh* or *Nastaliq* characters. Thus the term (*Rekhta*), continuing to be used in the latter sense, becomes a regular synonym for Urdu poetry.

The century following the age of Amir Khusraw begins to furnish us with fragmentary but positive evidence that this Indo-Muslim mixed type of speech was gaining currency from the far-flung province of Bengal and Bihar¹ to Sind,² culminating in the memorable works of *Kabir*, *Qutban*, *Baha-ud-din Bajan*, and *Miranji* 'Ushshaq of the fifteenth century. *Kabir* lived in the eastern districts of the present U.P. *Qutaban* probably flourished under the patronage of Husain Shah of Bengal; *Shaykh Bajan* was born at Burhanpur and educated in Gujarat, and had settled down further south in Bijapur. From Amir Khusraw's Delhi to Miranji's Bijapur seems rather a far cry, but historical events could easily provide the links of the connection between the two cities, bringing to memory the foundation of Daulatabad under the command of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, who through his foresight and perseverance succeeded in planting a large Muslim colony in northern Deccan, from where they soon spread over the western and central areas. They attained complete political independence but retained the culture they had

1 (e.g. Shaykh Sharaf-ud-din's *Kajmandar*, 8/14th century; or Ibrahim Faruqi's *Sharaf-namah*, 9/15th century.

2 *Punjab Men Urdu*, p. 195; 288.

brought from Delhi. This included their common language which later came to be known as "Dakhni" but, was remembered as "Hindi" or "*Zuban-i-Hindustan*" for a long time. Separated from its northern fountheads and exposed to local influences, this idiom not only preserved its identity but actually became a literary medium of the Muslim settlers, producing some distinguished poets like *Nusrati*, *Ghawasi*, *Quli Qutub Shah*, and a number of prose writers especially on religious and mystic themes. This "Dakhni" literature clearly served as a *lingua franca* almost in all parts of the subcontinent where the Muslims had settled permanently. It was different from the local tongues such as Panjabi, Brij, Rajasthani, Awadhi, and even more so from the remoter members of the Indo-Aryan family. Besides borrowing numerous words from Arabic and Persian this new variety of speech had the manifest stamp of Muslim culture in its script.

Some scholars apply the term "Urdu"¹ to this language at this early stage of development, but others prefer to call it *Khari Boli*. The latter term is specifically used for the colloquial speech current in Delhi and its neighbourhood during the late fourteenth century and is assumed almost to be identical with the "Dehlawi" of Amir Khusraw. Some European visitors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, like Terry and Fryer, casually mention "Indoostan" as the commonly spoken tongue of the subcontinent. But the Muslim writers continued to call the northern variety of the language as "Hindawi" or simply "*Hindi*". Leaving out a number of fragmentary traces, we find ourselves on solid ground by the beginning of the seventeenth century when, besides smaller works of a didactic nature, Muhammad

¹ *Punjab men Urdu*, p. 278.

Afzal's (d. 1626) *Bikat Kahani* appeared which remained popular for a long time. A more important series of extant works led by the well-known *Khaliq-Bari*, wrongly attributed to Amir Khusraw, culminates in *Risala Sehzuban* of Abdul Wasi of Hansi, the learned author of another memorable work entitled *Gharaibul-Lughat* which is justly honoured as the earliest "Urdu" dictionary. It was later revived in its recension by *Khan-i-Arzu* who renamed it *Nawadirul-Alfaz*.

The consolidation of the great Mughul Empire, bringing peace and prosperity in its wake, greatly helped in spreading this polished Indo-Muslim form of speech throughout the subcontinent. The Deccan had been the vanguard of literary Urdu, but Delhi, soon surpassed other centres, creating a regular school of classical poetry. We may, however, reiterate that this novel mixture of Arabic, Persian, Tartar and Indian tongues was by no means confined to Delhi or the Duab. With slight variation in local accent and idiom it had taken roots practically in all parts of the subcontinent. Everywhere local dialects subsisted but Urdu had attained the role of a common all-India medium of speech. Eagerly cultivated in Aurangabad and Walajahi Arcot, it was sung in Mysore¹ and patronised at Murshidabad.² What may seem no less remarkable, excellent Urdu Ghazals were composed in Sind³ and the Pushtu speak-

1 Cf. *Fathul-Mujahidin*, (Ed. Dr. Mahmud Husain) which contains Mysorean military anthems in Urdu. Tipu Sultan had a taste for poetry and collected Urdu Diwans of well-known contemporary poets of north India.

1 C. *Fathul-Mujahidin*, (Ed. Dr. Mahmud Husain) which contains

3 Amongst the Urdu poets of Sind, Mir Haidar-ud-din Kamil (d. 1150/1744) deserves special notice for his masterly handling of Urdu idiom of metaphorical subtleties. (See Urdu, Karachi, Oct., 1951).

ing districts¹ at the other end of the subcontinent.

It is also to be noted here that it was in the middle of the eighteenth century that the eminent philologist, Siraj-ud-din Khan Arzu, feeling the necessity of distinguishing the standardized form of Indo-Muslim speech from the comprehensive but vague designation of "Hindi" recommended that the appellation *Urdu-i-Mu'alla* applied to the idiom spoken by the people domiciled in the metropolis of Delhi. This was the language of the Imperial Court and the high society of the Empire, which set the standard for the rest of the subcontinent. This was evidently the origin of the name "Urdu" which finally replaced all the former designations such as Hindi, Gujarati, Dakhni, *Rekhtah*, etc.²

The substitution of Hindustani for Persian by the administrators of the East India Company was a part of their general policy of eradicating all traces of Muslim supremacy. Soon after, they imposed their own language, English, which was totally alien to the land. They also initiated the sinister move to create a separate communal language for the Hindus, as has been mentioned earlier. The real opportunity to carry out the *divide et impera* in the linguistic sphere occurred after 1857, when Muslim resistance to foreign dominance was effectively crushed and British Imperialism got into its full stride. The neo-Hindi movement and the resultant Hindi-Urdu controversy is generally held to have

¹ Urdu versification by the Pushtuns may be traced back to the redoubtable Khushal Khan Khatak. Recently a *Diwan* of Qasim 'Ali Khan Afridi (early 18th. century) was discovered and contains a few Urdu pieces comparable with the best poetry of the period. (Farigh Hamdani: *Atak ke us par*, p. 189). A more recent publication is the *Diwan* of Mulzullah Khan Mohamad (1085-1161/1674-1747) containing lyrical pieces in standard Urdu of the period.

² See quotation from Arzu's various works given by Dr. Sayyid. Abdullah in his introduction to the *Nawadirul-Alfaz*, pp. 30-33

started in an acute form in 1867, when a number of influential Hindus of Banaras submitted a petition to the Government to replace Urdu as court language by Hindi written in Devanagari characters. This raised quite storm of protest.

Apparently the Banares move had an element of painful surprise. It convinced Syed Ahmad Khan that Hindus and Muslims would not be able to cooperate and all attempts to unite them as one nation for common effort were futile.¹

Meanwhile the Hindi movement initiated at Banaras gathered force. Syed Ahmad Khan's scheme for a chartered university "in every respect equal in status to that of Calcutta" with the vernacular, as its medium of instruction, seems to have fallen an early casualty of the Hindi-Urdu controversy.² On the other hand, a Central Association to defend Urdu was formed with Allahabad as its headquarters and branches in several towns. Some Urdu papers of the time, like the *Banaras Gazette*, the *Nurul-Absar* of Lucknow and Syed Ahmad Khan's *Scientific Society Gazette*, Aligarh, vigorously took up the cause of Urdu, explaining the dangers and ominous possibilities if the Banaras demands were conceded.

The champions of Hindi were apparently failing to enlist effective support from the Hindu intelligentsia when arbitrary action on the part of the British Administration in banning Urdu in Bihar came as God-send to stimulate their sagging strength. Having made up their mind to play the game of divide and rule the British authorities found an excuse in and address of welcome

¹ *Hayat-i-Jawid* (Delhi, 1939), Part I, p. 123.

² See *Urdu* Karachi, (Jubilee Number 1953), p. 9; cf. D'Tassy, Lectures for the year 1868.

in high-flown Urdu presented by Mawlawi Imdad 'Ali to Sir G. Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and Bihar in 1871. The latter in his reply exploited the occasion, condemned Urdu as a "hybrid speech", mixed with "distorted expressions of Arabic and Persian origin". He went so far as to direct the authorities of the Department of Public Instruction to ban Urdu text books. Similar instructions were issued to other departments to stop the use of Urdu in all official transactions. There are reasons to believe that the orders of Campbell were not unanimously supported by British officials or the upper class Hindus.¹

However, they went a long way in installing provincial dialects (*Maithili and Bhojpuri*) under the common garb of "Hindi" as the court language in an important sector of the Urdu speaking region. In addition, these anti-Urdu measures naturally served as an open encouragement to the supporters of Hindi in the neighbourhood. Renewed activities could be observed in the eastern districts of the U.P. giving a fillip to Hindi publications which included a fair number of translations from English and Bengali. Newspapers began to appear in Devanagari characters. Having poor circulation, they were inferior to their Urdu contemporaries in other respects as well, freely employing the same style and 'foreign' (Arab-Persian) terminology against which they were at war.² The advocates of Hindi launch-

1 The semi-official *Englishman* of Calcutta criticized the action. Vide *Khutbat*, p. 289. The Maharaja of Banaras promised to donate 10000 rupees for having the *Chambers' Encyclopaedia* translated into Urdu. *Ibid.*, 105.

2 The later half of nineteenth century brought into prominence two new-Hindi authors, Babu Harish Chandra and Raja Siva Parshad; but Parshad is reported to have gradually cooled down in his zeal to use only

ed another campaign on a large scale to secure their demands which compelled Syed Ahmed Khan to reorganise his Defence of Urdu Society (December 1873) and to counteract the Hindi agitation which was calculated to embitter feelings between the two peoples. The activities of the Society did not last long but were effective enough to dissuade the British authorities from taking any further steps in favour of Hindi or the Devanagari script for the time being.

Closer contacts with western culture and the spread of English education amongst the Hindus, especially in Bengal, brought about new trends in the outlook of that community. Studies by European scholars of ancient Indian history and Sanskrit literature inspired the Hindus with a new pride in their past and hope for the revival of their heritage. The political expression of this awakening in the form of national movements took a little more time to mature, but religious and political propaganda of a militant nature appeared on the scene at an early stage. The Arya Samaj was founded and various other cults of a revivalist nature came into existence. Most of them were hostile to Islam and its followers, so that communal prejudice now began to permeate the language controversy also. The "Bhasha Samrotan Sabha" founded at Aligarh in 1875 was manifestly anti-Muslim, but, lacking adequate support, it faded away. Agitation was, however, vigorously

(Continued from page 360)

Sanskrit words for the current Persian terms. According to Kaye, he is "specially remembered as one who tried to popularize a literary speech midway between the Persian-ridden Urdu and the Sanskrit-ridden High Hindi...." cf. *A History of Hindi Literature*, p. 90.

Experiments of Sanskritized Hindi verse patronised by some Hindu Rajas (e.g. Rewa, Panna) seemed to have attained no better popularity, as may be gathered from a more recent survey by Surya Pant Shastri in his *History of Hindi literature* (Hindi ed. Lahore, 1930.)

renewed during the educational survey by the Hunter Commission in 1882, and was noteworthy for its extension to the Hindus of the Panjab who joined hands with their brethren of U. P. in their campaign in favour of Hindi. The Commission received hundreds of petitions and resolutions from numerous *sabhas* and societies, real or spurious, protesting against the continuation of Urdu as the official language of U. P. In reply to an address at the M. A. O. College, Dr. Hunter mentioned how embarrassed the Commission felt in dealing with the heavy correspondence relating to this controversy. Syed Ahmed Khan came to the rescue of the Commission by convincing them that the language question was a political issue beyond the scope of their enquiry. The storm blew over.

Syed Ahmed Khan's exertions to propagate modern education amongst his co-religionists to rouse them out of their stupor were indirectly helping in creating Muslim public opinion which now looked at Aligarh for a lead in political matters. Syed Ahmed Khan's growing influence over Muslims created a strong reaction among certain sections of the Hindus. To demonstrate their strong feelings the latter had established a "Bharat Varshia National Association" at Aligarh, the stronghold of the redoubtable Muslim leader. Even the high-sounding name of this organisation might have been forgotten but for the institution of its literary branch called the Nagari Paracharni Sabha which, removed to a more congenial habitat—Banaras—survived its parent, and continued to carry out its literary task quite creditably. Another literary society, the *Hindi Sahitya Sammelan*, was formed at Allahabad, while, it may be added, the North India Tract Society of the Christian Mission also served the cause of modern Hindi literature in its own way.

On the whole the language fever showed signs of abatement in the nineties. But the sparks of the controversy had hardly been extinguished when fresh efforts from British quarters again rekindled the fire. Anthony MacDonnel was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces in 1897. During the four years when he was in office he entered the arena as an ardent partisan of Hindi. His proclivities being already known, supporters of Hindi joyously welcomed him as a powerful patron. In March 1898 a memorial signed by a large number of Hindu notables, was submitted to the Government demanding that the use of Hindi be allowed in the law courts. The grand old man of Aligarh was on his death-bed at the time, but besides rousing the Allahabad Urdu Defence Society, then practically defunct, he sent a strong protest for publication in his weekly *Institute Gazette* which appeared a few days before he breathed his last. There is some reason to believe that these efforts caused authority to waver, and the Lieutenant-Governor urged patience on a deputation of the supporters of Hindi which he received the same year. But MacDonnel, reputed for his obstinacy,¹ at last had a resolution passed (April 1900) permitting the use of Hindi script, which term was changed into 'language' by Lord Curzon's Government, thereby aggravating the situation.²

The storm of protests from the Muslim public and press culminated in a mass meeting held at Lucknow on 17 and 18 August 1900, thanks to the energetic exertions of Nawab Mohsinul-Mulk who had succeeded Sir Syed as Honorary Secretary of the Aligarh College.

¹ See biographical notes, S.V., *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

² *Khutbat*, 272.

Great enthusiasm prevailed in the gathering. Some Hindu and Christian intellectuals also participated in the meeting and spoke against the decision of the Government. Mohsinul Mulk, an eminent orator, moved the audience to a high pitch of fervour seldom displayed in those days. This Convention unanimously adopted resolutions to carry on their agitation persistently till the Government were persuaded to revise their orders.

The demonstration infuriated MacDonnel who personally visited Aligarh to threaten the Trustees of the College with the withdrawal of the Government grant if their Secretary continued his active connection with "political agitation". Mohsinul Mulk offered to tender his resignation from the College Secretaryship but was prevailed upon to continue. He had to sever his connection with the organisation for the defence of Urdu of which he had been elected President at the Lucknow convention. This caused a set-back to the movement.

The early years of the twentieth century marked the triumph of Hindi which now attained an official status equal to that of Urdu in the area where Urdu had grown and prospered and where only a short while ago it had reigned supreme. This gave great impetus to modern Hindi. It consolidated its position by improving its press and literary output. No doubt a large number of these Hindi publications were of very inferior quality, still they had their propaganda value. An interesting feature of this literature was the simple colloquial type of Hindi used during the early years of the century. In course of time, however, the language became more Sanskritised.

A redoubtable champion of Hindu Revivalism, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, had risen to preach the cause of Sanskritized Hindi as one of the main planks

of his political creed. Well-versed in law and politics the learned Pandit was a staunch defender of Hindu orthodoxy wielding great influence over his coreligionists of Northern India. On the occasion of the Census of 1921 he led a strong agitation in favour of recording Hindi as a language of the Hindus in the U. P. But the zelaous advocates of the ambiguous term 'Hindi' failed to deceive the author of the "*Linguistic Survey of India*," Dr. Grierson, who happened to be the Census Commissioner. The Malaviya faction was visibly non-plussed by the penetrating queries of the learned Census Commissioner who eventually decided to have the relevant column filled with the term Hindustani rather than Hindi or Urdu so far as U. P. was concerned. The device held good till the next Census, but these well-intentioned compromises were hardly calculated to remove the deeper causes of cleavage. To the Muslim criticism against Sanskritization the educated Hindu would generally retort that overloading of the common Indian tongue with the jaw-breaking Arabic-Persian bombast was no less objectionable, frequently pointing to Mawlana Abul Kalam's weekly, *Al-Hilal*, and some other Urdu journals then known for their highly rhetorical style. The contention was quite plausible but a difference lay in the rapid insertion of such a large number of Sanskrit *tatsamas* at once, as also in the forced reversion of ordinary Hindi words to their original but now obsolescent forms.

These conflicting views, however, revealed some of the more profound aspects of the controversy—philological as well as cultural—which were to lead to the ultimate separation of High Hindi from Urdu, so that conciliatory move with slogans such as "One Language, two Scripts," "Simplified Hindustani for all," "Roman

Characters for both" and the like, whether genuine or mere cant, began to sound unreal, eliciting little response from either of the two rival camps. Despite the pro-Hindi agitation Urdu continued to make steady progress. The opening decades of the twentieth century are memorable in the history of its development. At this stage, Panjab stepped forward to infuse fresh blood into Urdu's veins. A source of strength for the Panjab was its contiguity to the N.W. Frontier districts which had closer affinity with Persian and the fact that Delhi was a part of the province until 1912. Protagonists of Hindi led a few fitful raids on the Panjab without much effect. The Anjuman-i-Panjab which was organized in 1865 to disseminate useful knowledge in Urdu, had a considerable share in popularizing the language. Urdu was used in schools, courts and subordinate government offices. Non-Muslim Indian States followed suit and even the Dogra Raja of Kashmir arranged to have telegrams transmitted through that medium. But a far more important contribution was made by the intelligentsia who took up the cause of Urdu with enthusiasm. A large number of books, newspapers and periodicals began to appear from the publishing agencies of the province. The first Urdu daily, the *Paisa Akhbar*, appeared from Lahore, soon to be followed by a number of Hindu and Muslim rivals. But the enterprising founder of *Paisa Akhbar* organised an extensive publication department issuing hundreds of books, mostly translations from English, touching on almost all branches of modern Science and Arts. The publications being invariably lithographed in *nastaliq* script proved quite a boon to calligraphy. Text-books prescribed for schools, and scriptures, tracts and other literature published by the Christian Missions were particularly conspicuous for

their neat appearance. On the whole Lahore held the leading position throughout India for its flourishing press and literary output, surpassing that of Delhi and Lucknow.

Meanwhile memories of Sir Syed's tradition stirred his successors, who, severely snubbed by authority, directed their energies to the purely academic side of promoting Urdu. A special section of the Mohammedan Educational Conference, Aligarh, was opened in January 1903 for the purpose and named *Shu'ba-Taraqqi-i-Urdu*, with the famous author, Mawlana Shibli, as its first Secretary, while a distinguished member of the European staff, Professor (afterwards Sir) Thomas Arnold was chosen Chairman of the Executive Committee, which included several prominent men of letters. After making a good beginning, the Section was allowed to languish. But some years later Mawlana Shibli, having retired to Azamgarh, built up a research institute, called the *Darul-Musannifin*, there with its own press and publicity arrangements. It produced a number of excellent Urdu works and published a monthly journal, the *Ma'arif*, dealing with Islamic subjects. This institution, sometimes called the Shibli Academy, has greatly helped in raising the standard of our literature, especially in the realm of Muslim history and biography. About the same time in December 1911 the Urdu Section of Muslim Educational Conference was entrusted to Mawlawi Abdul Haq, a distinguished Old Boy of the M. A. O. College, then serving the Nizam's Government as Inspector of Schools, and its office was transferred to Aurangabad. Under the new Secretary this section developed into an independent organisation known as the *Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu*. Support for this organization came from eminent personalities like

Syed Husain (Nawab 'Imadul Mulk) Bilgiramī who was elected as the first President of the Anjuman's Board of Directors, and Her Highness Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal; with the cooperation of some proficient young writers the Anjuman was able to bring out a series of new books on various subjects. Authentic translations of some of the world classics were published and the Anjuman's quarterly journal "*Urdu*" established excellent traditions of linguistic research and literary criticism.

Events of international importance particularly the First World War, with a crop of revolutionary consequences as its aftermath, accelerated the development of Urdu literature. In 1909 Sajjad Mirza Dihlawī (later of Hyderabad), could register a little more than 20000 works in his *Fihrist* of Urdu publications, but by the end of another decade this catalogue looked quite incomplete and already out-moded. Streams of new books, magazines, newspapers, pamphlets etc., were flowing out of hundreds of presses which had grown up in every important towns of India. Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and, to a lesser degree, Madras had joined as participants in this effort. Besides having a good Urdu Press, Bombay, or rather its small but enterprising Parsi community, helped in popularizing Urdu all over India through theatrical companies which had many plays written in Urdu, because it was advantageous to produce them in a widely understood language. The foundation of a modern University, *Jamia Usmaniah*, at Hyderabad in (1918) with Urdu as its medium of instruction upto highest standard in all the Faculties of Science and Arts, marked the crowning success of that language, giving it a status higher than that of its rival, Hindi, or indeed of any other tongue spoken in the sub-continent.

The All-India National Congress had passed a resolution in the early thirties declaring "Hindustani" as commonly spoken in Northern India and written in two scripts¹ to be the national language of India. This resolution caused a good deal of uneasiness amongst the Muslims who wondered why the Congress should avoid the use of the word "Urdu". Their misgivings proved to have been justified when some time later Gandhi, the author of the resolution mentioned above, praised the "model Hindustani" of a monthly journal, *Hans*, which used highly Sanskritized Hindi.

Evidently the time had come when unpleasant facts could no longer be ignored. At the Baroda session of the All India Oriental Conference, 1931, Mawlawi Abdul Haq had to admit that the gulf between Urdu and Hindi was already getting too wide to be bridged.² The development of literature on the lines of modern European languages demanded a far more extensive vocabulary than the common speech of the Indian masses could supply. The educated Hindus, imbued with fervour for their national revival, looked upon the Vedic age and the Sanskrit classics as sources of their inspiration, with growing intolerance for all Muslim influence. Indeed the language controversy in its advanced stages revealed most vividly some of root causes of the communal conflict in India, driving thoughtful men to despair.

The Persian and Arabic elements were not new in Urdu, nor was their use limited to the educated classes. For the last three centuries, its standard idiom which includes a large percentage of Arabic and Persian words,

1 That is, the Arabic script as used in Urdu and the Devanagri script as used in Hindi.

2 *Khutbat*, p. 9.

has been in general use. Even some illiterate men are mentioned in the old anthologies, who composed tolerably good *Rekhta ghazals*. This is a sufficient indication of the fact that the language with its high Persian and Arabic content had become a common medium of speech. Similarly many of our modern poets and writers did not study Arabic or literary Persian but could use standard Urdu quite well. On the other hand, modern Hindi is admittedly not spoken anywhere, nor can it be used without a proficient knowledge of Sanskrit, which itself has been defunct as a living language at least for fifteen centuries.

The Hindu revivalists evidently were aware of these difficulties in promoting an artificial language but their enthusiasm sustained them in their efforts because in this way they hoped to revive their pre-Islamic Culture. They had considerable success, especially in the Hindu States, which adopted it as their official language. Among these States were Alwar, Bikaner, Bharatpur and Gwalior.

In Kashmir originally Persian was used as the official language. Urdu replaced it and prospered in the State; even the Dogra Rajas learnt to cherish it. However, in the late thirties intrigues were set on foot to introduce Hindi in the Schools for Hindu children. But Sheikh Abdullah's National Conference firmly opposed the move and succeeded in checking the authorities from accomplishing their design of ousting Urdu from the State, where the Muslims formed a majority.

The language conflict took a very deplorable turn in Jaipur, the largest of the Rajputana States, during the ministry of Sir Mirza Ismail. Jaipur, as is well-known, was some times surnamed "*Chhoti Dilli*" (the little Delhi) owing to its deep-rooted Mughul culture, and the

rulers of the State had resisted all the machinations of communalist Hindus for quite a long time. It was only after the death of Raja Madho Singh that a Council of Regency allowed the use of Nagri script along with Urdu in 1925. But in practice the administration used to employ the latter exclusively; even the cultured Hindus of the State cared little for Devanagari. During the Prime Ministership of Sir Mirza Ismail, however an artificial agitation in support of Hindi was started under one, Ram Chandra Sharma, to which Sir Mirza obligingly succumbed.

At this stage Gandhi associated himself with the movement in favour of Hindi, which was being unmistakably run on communal lines. The *Sahitya Sammelan* of Allahabad elected him President of its Indore Session in 1935. Shortly afterwards a novel scheme, attributed to Gandhi himself was inaugurated with the object of coordinating the various literatures of the subcontinent under the auspices of an all-India institution to be called the "*Akhal Bharat i Sahitya Parishad*". The name sounded ominous to those who were not familiar with Sanskrit. But along with a few nationalist Muslim writers, the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu (Aurangabad) was also invited to send delegates to the inaugural meeting of the *Parishad* held at Nagpur in April 1936, which Mawlawi Abdul Haq, Honorary Secretary of the Anjuman, attended. Besides the somewhat incomprehensible objective of the *Parishad*, "*Hindi-Hindustani*" was proposed to be its official medium of transactions. This appellation clearly indicated that the form of Hindustani to be adopted was to be identical with Hindi. Gandhi argued that the term "*Hindustani*" used in the resolution adopted by the Indian National Congress regarding the national language also included *Hindi*,

adding in reply to Mawlawi Abdul Haq's objection, "It was I who drafted that resolution and if people had not understood its real meaning then, let them do so now according to what I explain..." To the pleadings of a Congressite Muslim he replied: "Urdu is too strongly impregnated with the culture of the Qur'an".¹ To Mawlawi Abdul Haq Gandhi's sentiments and the attitude of those Congress leaders who were present came as a painful revelation and from that day he made up his mind to devote all his energy to the defence of Urdu. To transform the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu from a purely literary Society to something of a semi-political organ of public opinion required very hard work indeed. The campaign began with the convening of an important conference at Aligarh on 24 October 1936, attended by many prominent men representing nearly all provinces and important princely states. The poet of Islam, Sir Mohammad Iqbal, being too ill to participate in person, sent an inspiring message to the Conference.

This remarkable agitation was greatly reinforced by sharp communal rivalries which the implementation of the Government of India Act 1935 at the provincial level had aggravated. The treatment meted out to the Muslim minorities in the provinces under the administration of the Congress Ministries excited feelings of bitter resentment. Urdu, now came to be regarded as an obnoxious rival of high Hindi. The opponents of Urdu did every thing to damage its position and popularity particularly in the United and the Central Provinces. The vigorous defence put up by its supporters did not

¹ Some of these details of the proceedings of the *Parishad's* Subjects Committee were published in the quarterly, *Urdu* (April 1936); the report was reproduced all over India by the Muslim press, causing quite a sensation.

prove entirely futile. Friendly critics of Gandhi, like Pandit Sundar Lal of Allahabad, urged him to rectify his error of entering an admittedly communal arena. Whatever the reason, it was probably at Gandhi's instance that Babu Rajendra Parshad, negotiated with the Secretary of the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu an agreement which was signed by both of them at Patna on 28, August, 1937.

It was agreed that "Hindustani should be the common language of India and should be written in both the Urdu and Nagri characters which should be recognised for all official and educational purposes. By Hindustani we mean the largest common factor of the language spoken in Northern India and we believe that common usage should be the criterion for the selection and inclusion of words in its vocabulary. We are further of opinion that the fullest opportunities for development should be vouchsafed both the Urdu and Hindi as literary languages. . . ."¹

These good-intentioned compromises and expedients however were no longer capable of the feud. Gandhi while furthering the interests of Hindi tried to sidetrack the objections of his critics by coining the term "*Hindi athva Hindustani*" ("Hindi that is Hindustani"). He seemed, to be determined to instal Hindi and Hindi alone as the national language of India. Next year Dr. Ashraf, "a communist in creed" brought a motion in the Congress Committee meeting of 26 September 1938, calling upon the nationalists not to indulge in the language controversy which had assumed a definitely communal form, but stick to the (one language two

¹ Quotation from the signed statement in possession of Mawlawi Abdul Haq, who had very kindly allowed me to use it.

scripts) policy as previously laid down by the Congress. This perfectly opportune motion was opposed by none else but another Muslim nationalist stalwart—Mawlana Abul Kalam of the *Al-Hilal* fame, President elect for the year, and was unceremoniously rejected.

On the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939 the Congress Ministries resigned. This was the time when a rejuvenated Muslim League was gaining rapid strength soon to grow into a serious rival of the Congress, and from this development in the political field Urdu acquired considerable support. Its literary achievements also were of great significance. Besides a number of modern works of a high quality published mostly by the intellectual circles of Lahore, Hyderabad (Deccan), Delhi, Azamgarh and Lucknow, the exuberance of journalistic and cheap light literature was simply astounding. The city of Bombay alone claimed to have twelve Urdu dailies and some fifty other periodicals in the early forties, to say nothing of other important towns where Urdu was always the leading language employed by the press. Novels, plays and short stories appeared in large numbers, especially to supply the insatiate demands of north-Indian soldiers who were being transhipped to remote parts of three continents during the War. Propaganda and news through this most popular language of India had become a regular feature of broadcast from many radio stations of the Axis Powers as well as those of the British Empire.

Gandhi was interned in consequence of his "Do or Die" campaign resulting in the disturbances of 1942. He was released in 1944 along with his Congress companions. He had now to cope with a powerful Muslim League which emphasized the two nation theory. In order to support his one nation theory and propitiate

the Muslims he resigned from the *Hindi Sahitya Sammelan*, Allahabad, and inaugurated a new "*Hindustani Parchar Sabha*". The Secretary of the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu was specially invited to attend the first meeting of this second linguistic venture of Gandhi in February 1945, but the former had apparently lost all faith in Gandhi's sincerity. His attitude was justified when a few days later Gandhi's private letter to P. Tandon, President of the *Hindi Sahitya Sammelan*, Allahabad, was published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. In this letter Gandhi had assured Tandon of his continued support to the Sammelan "from outside".¹ About the same time the "Hindustani" edition of Gandhi's weekly *Harijan Sewak* came out in the Urdu script and left no doubt whatsoever as to what kind of language Gandhi intended to propagate, for the "Hindustani" of his paper was high flown Hindi unintelligible to Muslims and for that matter even to the rank and file of the Hindus.

On the whole Gandhi's activities in the linguistic field demonstrably strengthened the craze for Sanskritization amongst his co-religionists and definitely barred any possibility of reconciliation between the two competing languages.

During these pre-partition years, the All-India Radio station, which happened to be in charge of a Muslim Controller, was also forced to join the fray and take up the cause of the Gandhian variety of "Hindustani". The Controller's attempts to interpolate odd terms into the news bulletins and talks failed to appease the protagonists of Hindi and were no less distasteful to the Urdu speaking listeners. Subsequently the Government constituted a non-official advisory committee to help the Controller find some via media between the two

¹ See *Hamari Zuban*, 16th March, 1945.

extremes. The committee consisted of one representative each from the *Hindi Sammelan*, Allahabad, Gandhi's *Hindustani Parchar Sabha* and the *Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu*, Delhi. The deliberations of the Committee, however, did not produce any positive results.

Soon afterwards Sardar Patel as Minister for the Interior in the short lived National Coalition Government left no doubt regarding his determination to oust Urdu from official use. The developments narrated in this chapter were only natural: they demonstrated the irreconcilable differences between Hindu and Islamic cultures. The Muslims had built many bridges, but Hindu revivalism destroyed them one by one. Urdu was the most important of these bridges.

CHAPTER XIV
EFFORTS AT THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE
MUSLIM POSITION

THE basic problem of Muslim politics was much the same all over the subcontinent. The educational backwardness of the community combined with its economic and numerical weakness endangered its future. The gravity of the threat was realised gradually as the subcontinent was "democratized" on Western lines under the British. The Hindus had a preponderant share in administration. They held key positions in Government departments, even in Muslim majority Provinces. The Hindu moneylenders had ruined the Muslim agricultural population everywhere by their callous exactions. The Hindus dominated the money market and were firmly entrenched in the fields of industry and commerce. With all these advantages on their side, many Hindus carried on a subtle and organised campaign of social and economic boycott against Muslims. The Muslim struggle for the improvement of their position was, therefore, an uphill task, and Muslim leaders had to fight against heavy odds. Although the principle of separate Muslim representation had been embodied in the Constitution of the country since 1909, the strength of Muslim majorities was not reflected in the legislatures of Muslim majority Provinces as clearly as was the

strength of Hindu majorities in other Provinces. Matters were made worse by the emergence of a spurious leadership which carried favour either with the British or with Hindu leaders and was heedless of the interests of those for whom it spoke. The Indian National Congress, the best organised party, devoted itself to the promotion of Hindu claims and worked zealously for the revival of Hindu values and the ancient Hindu culture. While its leaders made loud professions of impartiality between different peoples inhabiting the subcontinent they could seldom rise above the narrow interests of Hinduism. The Congress treatment of Muslims was characterised by a lack of sincerity. In the former North Western Frontier Province it flattered the Muslims; in the Hindu majority provinces it ignored them; in the Panjab, Sind and Bengal, it encouraged the local Hindus to stand up in arms against them. By the end of 1928, the Muslim confidence in the Congress had been completely shaken. The allegation made by the Congress leaders that the benefits and blessings of British Rule were restricted to Muslims is not supported by facts. Indeed, there is overwhelming evidence to the contrary.

The present chapter seeks to detail the efforts made by some prominent and representative Muslims for the consolidation of the Muslim position in the various Provinces. Limits of space forbid a fuller account, and some omissions are inevitable in a chronicle of this nature. But the narrative will leave the reader with an impression that a healthy reconstruction of Muslim society in the subcontinent was well-nigh impossible by individual endeavours in a united India, whether "self-governing" or politically dependent.

The territory of the Panjab came under British rule in 1849. With the completion of its conquest, it was

placed under a set of exceptionally able and energetic officers and given flexible, if somewhat ruthless, system of administration. The British had entered the coastal areas of the subcontinent as traders and were treated as equals; they descended on the Panjab as conquerers and suppressed Sikh lawlessness with a strong hand and exacted punctilious obedience to their authority from the terror-stricken population. The new rulers desired the Panjab to stay as an agricultural province. Education would have led to political awakening and industrialisation to labour troubles. They denied it both. They purchased the loyalty of the landed gentry by lavish grants of land and awards of titles. The landlords and rural masses were educationally backward and economically satisfied and consequently did not bother about politics. Some of the land-owning families even became notorious for their servility to the British. The Province did not taste of political life till the first decade of the twentieth century.

Fazl-i-Husain. Fazl-i-Husain ranks high among those who brought political consciousness to the Province. He did not favour a policy of political inaction for the Muslims. The political future of Muslims was likely to be jeopardized by an ill-advised abstention from politics, he argued, just as their past had been blighted by an imprudent inattention to Western education. With the help of his friends, Fazl-i-Husain succeeded in forming a political party. The first meeting of this body was held in February 1906 and Fazl-i-Husain pressed its claim for affiliation with the All-India Muslim League in 1907. In 1916, he decided to enter the Panjab

Legislative Council from the University constituency.¹ He approached some thirty eminent Hindus for whom he had a great regard and solicited for their votes. Only three of them promised support. The rest expressed their regret for their inability to vote for him, though they admitted that he was the most suitable candidate. The incident taught Fazl-i-Husain the lesson that Muslims of integrity and ability were not acceptable to Hindu electors, and turned him into an uncompromising champion of the Muslim demand for separate representation.

The rejection of the nomination papers of the rival candidate on technical grounds secured the unopposed election of Fazl-i-Husain. But this was no more than a chance success. Inside the Council, Fazl-i-Husain was the first to break the traditional silence of the Muslims in the Panjab on political issues. Under his leadership Muslim members coalesced into some sort of "opposition" which pitted itself against the excise policy of the Government and urged on the Executive to spend freely on education and sanitation. The proceedings of the Councils brought into existence by the Morley-Minto Reforms were conducted entirely in English. The electors were however allowed to vote for non-English knowing candidates. Fazl-i-Husain spoke strongly in favour of a resolution demanding the use of Urdu instead of English in Council debates. But the motion was negatived by official manipulation. In the difficult days of World War I and Martial Law that followed, Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant-Governor, virtually turned the Province into a concentration camp. Few public men had the courage to protest against administrative ex-

¹ This was mixed constituency, that is to say, one in which the graduate voters of all communities determined the election results.

cesses. Fazl-i-Husain won the gratitude of the intelligentsia by bold resistance to repression. He identified himself with the Khilafat cause but clearly perceived the hazardous consequences of *Hijrat*. He did whatever he could to stem the tide of emigration and discounted the policy of Non-co-operation. He refused to allow non-co-operators to trespass into educational institutions and turn them into recruiting grounds for political volunteers.

In 1921, Fazl-i-Husain was appointed Minister to the Panjab Government. The Muslims constituted 56 per cent of the population of this Province; their electoral strength however, was only 42 per cent. Their share in public services, except in the lowest ranks of Police and Jail departments was very small. This was also true of local government and educational institutions. Fazl-i-Husain fixed the quotas for different communities in the administrative services of the Province and ruled that an equitable proportion of Muslim pupils be admitted to Government and Medical Colleges. There was nothing new in the principle of "communal" representation in public services. There were numerous Government decisions on the subject but none of them had been properly implemented in the past. It was clearly undesirable to allow any one of the communities to dominate the public services.

The cardinal principle of Fazl-i-Husain's policy was "equality of opportunity for all classes" and the provision of special opportunities for backward areas. He adopted special measures to promote Muslim education. He assisted voluntary educational effort by liberal grants, instituted a large number of scholarships and free-studentships and posted Muslim educationists in predominantly Muslim areas to popularise education

among conservative Muslim parents. After a year and a half of his taking office, the number of Muslim pupils in all grades of schools rose appreciably. He held that expansion of primary education was of vital importance to the entire structure of education. His drive yielded phenomenal results and the number of primary schools multiplied rapidly. By creating statutory Panchayats in the Panjab, he took an important step towards the resuscitation of a useful and respectable institution of the past, though the revival of Panchayats did not fulfil his expectations. His legislation designed to reduce the burden of rural indebtedness by controlling the rate of interest did not prove as beneficial as he had intended. Fazl-i-Husain was also responsible for another important legislative measure that sealed the loopholes in the Panjab Land Alienation Act (1902), which had been practically nullified by the devious interpretations of the Hindu dominated judiciary of the province. This arrested the steady deterioration of the peasantry and gave a greater sense of security to the tiller of the soil. This is not the place to review Fazl-i-Husain's work in connection with the Round Table Conference. His part was far more substantial than it is generally believed to be.

Mohammad Shafi. Politically less effective but socially more popular. Mohammad Shafi was Fazl-i-Husain's senior at the bar by a decade. He was impressive in speech and had made a deep study of the English constitutional history. In politics he followed the more conservative line and subscribed to what his opponents called reactionary doctrines. In spite of occasional lapses, his political instinct was unerring. He was essentially a practical man and worked for the amelioration of his community within the limitations imposed by foreign

domination. He learnt his first lessons in politics from Syed Ahmed Khan who included him in the Anglo-Mohammedan Defence Association and appointed him trustee of the M.A.O. College. Like Aligarh leaders at the turn of the century, he was acutely conscious of the necessity of organising his people politically and stressed the point in a series of articles in the *Observer*. While Fazl-i-Husain had organised the Muslim League in the Panjab Mohammad Shafi founded the Muslim Association. The two bodies were often at loggerheads as their founders did not see eye to eye with each other. When the first Session of the All-India Muslim League was held in 1907, both Fazl-i-Husain and Mohammad Shafi hastened to Karachi, each seeking recognition for his own body. Mohammad Shafi made out his case skilfully and his Association became the Provincial League. Fazl-i-Husain agreed to serve under him. Shafi continued to lead the Panjab League till 1916. But internal rivalries had been a source of weakness for the Provincial League from the beginning. In 1913 it was coerced into changing its constitution by its "progressive" wing which was anxious to come to terms with the Congress. Mohammad Shafi publicly denounced the new-fangled policy as running counter to the basic purposes of the League.

In the Muslim University agitation, he resolutely stood for the demand of an affiliating university. When the rumour went round that an influential coterie of leaders was seriously debating the advisability of accepting the Government offer of a unitary and non-affiliating university, Mohammad Shafi telegraphically threatened the Foundation Committee with legal proceedings if it deviated from the mandate of the Community. Shafi's position in politics grew worse as the Congress and the

League drew closer to each other. His personality came to be looked upon as the greatest impediment to the consummation of the desired alliance between the two. Consequently, he was removed from the presidency of the Provincial League. He viewed the Lucknow Pact (1916) with suspicion and did not hesitate to strike an unpopular note in the general chorus of approval which greeted its ratification. In the retrospect, his opinion appears to be better founded than that of the supporters of the Pact who did not calculate the cost of liquidating Muslim majorities in the Panjab and Bengal. Naturally, Shafi was eclipsed by his rival Fazl-i-Husain in the sunniest days of Congress-League unity.

In 1920, Mohammad Shafi was appointed to the Governor-General's Executive Council and assigned the portfolio of education. He strove to speed up the official preparations for raising the M.A.O. College to the status of a university, and paid a visit to Aligarh to present the charter of incorporation. Mohammad Shafi represented the Government on the Indian Reforms Committee (popularly known as the Muddiman Committee) and signed the majority report, though he dissociated himself from its retrograde findings as soon as he was relieved of office. In the late twenties, Mohammad Shafi played a distinguished part in consolidating Muslim opinion in favour of separate electorates. His political views will be found in a collection of his writings entitled *Some Indian Problems* published from Lahore in 1930. He stoutly contested the Hindu Mahasabha thesis that separate electorates led to communal riots.¹ On the other hand, he believed that they tended to promote harmony between Hindus and Muslims and improved their mutual relations. He was impatient of

¹ Mohammad Shafi; *Some Indian Problems*, pp. 87-88.

the participation of the 'Ulama in politics. In the Round Table Conference he was generally understood to be more conciliatory towards Hindu demands than he had been ever before.

Zafar Ali Khan (d. 1956). Zafar Ali Khan studied at the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, and came under the influence of Syed Ahmed Khan who was still alive. Contact with the grand old man gave him a sense of purpose in life. During his brief career in the public service in the Hyderabad State, he found time to render some classical English works into chaste Urdu prose and won lasting fame as a translator. His translations read like original works. However, his political opinions cost him his job and he came over to Lahore where his father's early death bequeathed to him the management of a modest weekly, *Zamindar*, devoted to the welfare of the peasantry. Zafar Ali Khan proved to be a born journalist. The paper was soon converted into a daily. Under his guidance, it gained in influence and importance and became the principal lever of political awakening among the Panjab Muslims. From 1911 onwards, the temper of the Muslim community was fully reflected in the columns of the *Zamindar* which became an outspoken critic of the anti-Turkish policies of the Liberal Government in Britain. It preached the unity of the world of Islam and strongly protested against acts of unprovoked aggression which menaced the integrity of independent Muslim States. Its impassioned appeals for sending financial relief to the Turks evoked enthusiastic response. Zafar Ali Khan personally went to Istanbul to present a large sum of money to the Grand Vizier.¹ His Pan-Islamism was irrepressible. He courageously bore his share of suffering and sacrifice and his

1 O'Dwyer, Sir Michael, *India as I knew it*, p. 172.

paper suffered numerous penalties of law for its part in the battle of freedom. Produced in faultless Urdu, the *Zamindar* was highly valued for its literary excellence, sparkling verses and articles of abiding interest. Its leader writers coined expressions and phrases which were immediately accepted as the genuine currency of the language.

Zafar Ali Khan also ranks high as an orator. His spoken word was as magical as his written word. As a poet, he takes his place amidst the most eminent. He loved to compose in unusual rhymes and meters and has left several collections of verse. His inimitable poetry, which has a tremendous mass appeal on account of its virile Islamic background, deals with important political events as well as incidents of ephemeral interest. Some of it reflects the changing moods of the poet and will naturally die out. But the rest enshrines the reactions of a highly creative and sensitive mind to contemporary political situations. Occasionally, Zafar Ali Khan was seen to be working on a purely emotional plane and fighting the current of thoughtful Muslim opinion. Thus, he was enamoured of the Nehru Report and participated in Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930. But this was a passing phase. He had nothing in common with Hindu Nationalists and soon parted company with them. In 1937, he joined the Muslim League and waged an unrelenting war upon time-servers and opportunists who had wormed themselves into the organisation only to wreck it from within. With his indomitable fortitude, his trenchant penmanship and his extraordinary hold over the masses, Zafar Ali Khan was unique among the leaders of the Indian Muslim nation.

Abdul Qadir (d. 1950). An accomplished man of

letters and a moderate and constitutionalist in politics, Shaikh Abdul Qadir was a force in the social and cultural life of the Panjab Muslims. He edited the weekly *Observer* which disseminated ideas of social and educational reform. In 1898, he brought out his Urdu magazine, the *Makhzan*, which provided a forum for outstanding literary figures of the day and became a nursery of the writers of the next generation. In its impact on Muslim intelligentsia, the *Makhzan* ranks next after Syed Ahmed Khan's *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq*. Abdul Qadir's book entitled, *Maqam-i-Khilafat*, is a lively account of his visit to Turkey and a vivid portrayal of Turkish life in the first decade of the present century. It brings out the depth of Indian Muslim feeling for the *Khilafat* and Turkey. Abdul Qadir's association with Iqbal was intimate and enduring. He exercised a decisive influence on the poet and, on one occasion, argued him out of his resolve to abandon the pursuit of poetry.

Much of Abdul Qadir's welfare work was done in the committee rooms of the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam. Always prominent in the counsels of the Anjuman, Abdul Qadir was an ideal chairman and a conscientious committeeman. He had an unusual aptitude for formulating an acceptable via media between conflicting points of view. He closely watched and jealously administered the educational side of the Anjuman's work and guided the progress of higher education among the Muslims of the Province in an eventful and formative period.

In 1926, Abdul Qadir presided over the annual Session of the Muslim League. His presidential address was characteristically his own. He appealed to the various communities in the subcontinent to learn to live as

peaceful neighbours. But this was a cry in the wilderness and went unheeded by the Hindu communalists. Later, Abdul Qadir held some very responsible offices under the State and was venerated as an elder statesman whose mature advice was sought on social and cultural problems rather than on questions of political strategy.

Malik Barkat Ali (d. 1946). Barkat Ali began as a civil servant but gave up civil service for law. He was an incisive writer and for a while edited the weekly *Observer*. He joined politics in the days of the Khilafat Movement and his opinions retained the "nationalist" tinge for some years. In the twenties, he came into prominence as a brilliant lawyer and a loyal Muslim Leaguer. In the schism of 1927, he was with Mr. Jinnah. Next year, he was one of the 23 delegates reluctantly nominated by the League to attend the "All-Parties Conference" and press for the amendment of the Nehru Report. The Hindu Mahasabha's triumph in the Convention convinced Barkat Ali, as it convinced many others, that the "parting of ways" had come. After the second Round Table Conference (1931), Jinnah had settled down in England. Barkat Ali was one of the Leaguers who kept in close and constant touch with him and prevailed upon him to come back to India. He helped Iqbal in reorganising the Muslim League in the Panjab and strove hard to keep it clear of careerists. In this he did not always come off well. In the general elections of 1937, Barkat Ali contested a seat in the provincial legislature and was one of the two Leaguers to be returned. His partner seceded, but he stood firm even though he found himself in a minority of one. Inside and outside the Assembly, his criticism of the pro-British Unionists was downright and devastating.

Sind was conquered by the British arms in 1843. Up to 1847, it was administered as a separate province with Sir Charles Napier. After his departure it was joined with Bombay and placed under a Commissioner, called the Commissioner-in-Sind, who, unlike other Divisional Commissioners in British India, was invested with full powers of Provincial Government and presided over an autocratic system of administration. Geographically, Sind was isolated and its chief town of Karachi was separated from the capital (i.e. Bombay) by hundreds of miles of sea or desert. Educationally, it was lamentably backward and its communication system was extremely defective. The demand for an autonomous Sind originated with the Hindus in 1916.¹ The Sind Muslims, as a community, were cold about it and took no interest in the matter till 1925. The Delhi proposals (1927) included the separation of Sind from Bombay among the terms offered by Muslim leaders for the settlement of the communal question. Thence, Sind became an All-India question and the subject of an acrimonious political debate. The Hindu Mahasabha took the field and started hysterical campaign against separation. A Hindu leader, Prof. Chhablani, likened the Sind Muslim to a volcano and postulated that no freedom was possible under a Muslim Government.²

This pugnacious propaganda scared into opposition Hindus who could not be persuaded to discuss the question either on its merits or as a matter of compromise. They even sought to confuse the issue by bringing in economic considerations. The same Professor Chhablani who had formerly revelled in the 'dramatic narration

1 Alhaj Mian Ahmad Shafi, *Haji Sir Abdullah Haroon*, p. 71.

2 Alhaj Mian Ahmad Shafi, *Haji Sir Abdullah Haroon*, p. 73.

of tales of Muslim fanaticism, came out with the fresh argument that Sind was a deficit area, unlikely to make a viable administrative unit. But he could not back up his argument with figures. Whatever figures were available did not support his contention. The revenue of Sind in 1910-11 was 111 lakhs. In a decade it mounted to 210 lakhs. It might well have stood at a higher figure in 1926 by which time the Sukkur Barrage had been completed. If the tiny Province of Assam could maintain its own government on an annual income of 275 lakhs, the Muslims argued, there was no reason why Sind could not live within its own means. At a representative Sind gathering called in May 1932 to consider the problems arising out of separation, the Muslims volunteered to contribute a small additional levy to strengthen the finances of the proposed Province. The Hindus, who owned 40 per cent of the lands in Sind insisted on the Muslims footing the whole bill.¹ The Government decision to constitute Sind into a separate Province was balanced by a similar decision to separate the purely Hindu Province, Orissa, from Bihar.

Abdullah Haroon (d. 1942). Abdullah Haroon rose to business leadership from a small beginning. He entered politics as a Khilafatist and represented Sind in the Central Legislature continuously for 16 years. Convinced that the progress of a community largely depended on the education of women, he became the pioneer of female education and a champion of women's rights. The courts of Sind freely followed the Hindu law (which denied women's right to share in the properties left by their male relations) in the disposal of Muslim estates between their legal claimants. The legal disability of Muslim women was removed when, under

¹ *Alhaj Mian Ahmad Shaif, Hajl Sir Abdullah Haroon, p. 84.*

the influence of Abdullah Haroon, several Muslim members of the Central Legislative Assembly pooled their influence to secure the passage of a bill ensuring the enforcement of the Muslim law of inheritance. In 1920, Abdullah Haroon founded the first Muslim daily of Sind. In 1923, he opened an orphanage where pupils were given normal school education alongside with training in trades and crafts. In 1929, he joined the Muslim Conference which focussed the political aspiration of Muslims of all shades of thought in the subcontinent.

The separation of Sind was effected by the Constitution of 1935. But the new Province was not destined to settle down in peace. On the eve of the first general elections to the Provincial Legislature, the Muslims of Sind were seriously divided among themselves. The Hindu minority which had opposed the separation tooth and nail found its influence much augmented by the weightage it received under the Communal Award. It followed isolationist policies and created conditions which crippled the Muslim majority in the Legislature. The action of the Governor in passing over the claims of larger parties and entrusting the Government to a small group started an unending round of inter-group intrigues and manoeuvres in which the Congress fully exploited its opportunities and kept the Muslim factions in battle array against each other. Ministries were formed and broken in quick succession. In the midst of this confusion, Abdullah Haroon was the first Sind Muslim to realise that a policy of insularity would be fatal to his Province. He laboured hard to energise the Muslim League, introduced Sind Muslims to every League leader of note and mobilised Muslim opinion by rallies, conferences and deputations. His cohesive influ-

ence averted several crises within the Muslim League and he created the highly efficient League machinery to fight the Congress campaign against the Muslim right of self-determination. After reorganization of the All-India Muslim League he worked loyally in accordance with the directions of Jinnah.

In 1901, Curzon detached six of its trans-Indus districts from the Panjab and grouped them together to form a new Province to be known as the North-West Frontier Province. The separation had far-reaching consequences. Among its disadvantages two might be specially mentioned. The manly population of the Province toiling under low standards of living, was subjected to a barbarous penal code and suffered much oppression from time to time. The benefits of the Reforms of 1909 and 1919 were withheld from the Province. Even the Congress leaders including Gandhi opposed the introduction of reforms in the N.-W.F.P. and it was only in 1932 that representative institutions were introduced there.

Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan (d. 1937). The Sabihzadah may justly be described as the maker of his Province. A civil servant by profession, he was keenly interested in the spread of education. He founded the Islamia College of Peshawar in 1913 and closely modelled it on the M.A.O. College, Aligarh. The institution encouraged a healthy love of sports, emphasised the value of religious instruction, developed a vigorous community life of its own and became a great force in the educational progress of the region. Later, it provided a nucleus for the University of Peshawar.

Abdul Qayyum had to struggle for years to have his Province raised to the constitutional stature of other

Provinces. He enlisted the support and sympathies of Muslim leaders in other Provinces. The demand for the introduction of a liberal and reformed constitution in N.-W.F.P. became a unanimous Muslim demand. A motion to this effect tabled in the Central Legislative Assembly in 1926 was defeated by the combined opposition of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha. When the Province was given the dyarchical constitution in 1932, Abdul Qaiyyum became its first Minister. He retained this position up to 1937 when he became the victim of Congress intrigues. In a remarkable parting speech, he warned his Province against the dangers inherent in an unthinking acceptance of glamorous alien ideologies.

The Muslims of this Province who had a distinctive culture of their own constituted 14 per cent of its population and were mainly concentrated in urban areas. The local Muslim aristocracy which retained substantial share in landed wealth even after the revengeful expropriations of 1857, was distinguished for its devotion to learning and culture. The Province continued to supply educational and political leadership to succeeding generations of Muslim India under British Rule. The torch lit by Syed Ahmed Khan radiated its light far and wide and, in due course, Aligarh (located in the United Provinces) became the political and spiritual capital of Muslim India. The Muslim League founded at Dacca matured into a true political organisation in the United Provinces.

Mawlawi Fasih-ud-din (d. 1938). Mawlawi Fasih-ud-din began his career as a civil servant in 1888 and sought election to the provincial legislature after his retirement from public service in 1923. His administrative work was characterised by a fearless disregard of

the whims and views of highly placed bureaucrats and a ruthless opposition to sectarian strife among Muslims. He kept up the literary tradition of the civil service in the subcontinent and wrote on such diverse subjects as land revenue, history, numismatics and archaeology. His books on the "Settlement" show a considerable specialised and technical knowledge of the subject. As a legislator Mawlawi Rasih-ud-din was subtle and dignified and held aloof from political wrangles, his manner was always calculated to win over those who differed from him; he safeguarded the interests of the Muslim community and repudiated the Hindu accusation that Muslims coveted the rights of others; he demanded the separation of the judiciary from the executive, deprecated the institution of honorary judicial officers, pleaded for the extension of irrigation facilities, and questioned the desirability of jail rules allowing preferential treatment to European prisoners.

However, Mawlawi Fasih-ud-din's most considerable legislative contribution was the debt legislation of the Province. The subject has a long history. In the past, the rate of interest varied with the conditions prevailing in each locality and differed from time to time. The Directors of the East India Company had made several attempts to keep it within limits. A United Provinces Act of 1918 disallowed "excessive and unconscionable" rates of interest. But, like the Panjab Land Alienation Act, the utility of the measure was destroyed by judicial rulings. While one judge censured 37 per cent of simple interest as excessive and unconscionable, another could find nothing wrong with 75 per cent compound rate of interest. Some judges went so far as to approve of a rate of interest as high as 180 per cent.¹ The course of

1 M. I. Hasan *Mawlawi Fasih-ud-din* (Badaun, 1956), p. 63.

uncontrolled usury had reduced the peasantry to a condition indistinguishable from serfdom. In response to a resolution moved by Fasih-ud-din, the Government brought in four bills for the relief of agricultural indebtedness. The Mawlawi took a leading part in committee discussions and most of the operative clauses in the bill came from him. Determined Hindu opposition prevented him from having the Hindu principle of *Dam-Dupat* (which prohibits the accumulated interest from exceeding the amount of the loan originally acquired) incorporated into the law.² The efficacy of this legislation was subsequently found to be limited.

Doctor Zia-ud-din Ahmad (d. 1947). Zia-ud-din Ahmad was an All-India rather than a Provincial figure. His profound mathematical erudition, stupendous energy and single-minded devotion to his ideals have left a permanent impress on the character and destiny of Aligarh. The story of Aligarh during the first half of the present century may well be told round his personality. His connection with Aligarh began in 1895. He chose a teaching career at the M.A.O. College in preference to a tempting offer of employment under the Government. He soon made his mark as a sympathetic and effective teacher and entered with zest into the social and cultural life of his school. The M.A.O. College passed through the most agonising phase of its history after the death of its founder. The antipathy of the English professors serving on the teaching staff, the constant squabbles within the Board of Trustees and rancorous altercations between the rival groups of *alumni* poisoned the College atmosphere. The financial instability of the institution was reflected in a succession

2 M. I. Hasan Mawlawi Fasih-ud-din (Badaun, 1956).

of unbalanced budgets. But the worst was to come in 1919 when the *en bloc* departure of the European teachers created a void which could not be easily or immediately filled. It was at this juncture that Zia-ud-din Ahmad was chosen to head the College. The charge was unenviable. In the wake of the non-cooperation movement the Khilafat leaders sought to change the Aligarh College into a "national" institution. They came down to Aligarh and wanted to take over the College on behalf of the Central Khilafat Committee. The challenge created a crisis. The cause of the Khilafat had an irresistible appeal for the Muslim masses and its leaders exercised a commanding influence. The odds were those who wanted to maintain the *status quo*. Zia-ud-din Ahmad played a leading part in averting the crisis.

The crisis was hardly over when the College was raised to the University level under a hastily drafted statute. Zia-ud-din Ahmad was appointed to fill the office of Pro-Vice-Chancellor. The University was handicapped from the outset by meagre resources, opposition from certain influential quarters and by internal strains and stresses. But Zia-ud-din Ahmad was undismayed by opposition and unruffled by vilification. He was a considerate and humane administrator. He did not subscribe to conventional notions of discipline. The discipline on a university campus, he used to say, had to be different from the discipline of the barracks. Experience had taught him that meticulous observance of rules sometimes resulted in the failure of justice. He, therefore, did not always stick to schedules.¹ Zia-ud-din Ahmad was indicted for his "misdemeanours" before a committee of inquiry appointed in 1927 to hold a probe into

¹ Mohammad Amin Zuberi, *Zia-i-Hayat*, pp. 109-135.

Aligarh affairs. As a result of the findings of the Committee, he was compelled to terminate his connection with the university, but was back again in 1935 as Vice-Chancellor.

Zia-ud-din Ahmad sat in the provincial legislature for some years and pleaded for a better understanding of Aligarh on the part of non-Muslims. But his career as a legislator in the centre (1930-47) was longer and more fruitful. Here he interested himself in the administration of State Railways and mastered the subject with his characteristic thoroughness. His speeches on Railway budgets were loaded with figures and enlivened by anecdotes. He opposed the grant of larger concessions to Railways unless they learned to show greater regard for the convenience of their clientele. On subjects like labour, currency and finance, he spoke with the authority of an expert and often protested against the fleecing of the masses in the name of industrial progress. The Congress Rule in the Provinces (1937-39) gave a new turn to Muslim politics in the subcontinent. Zia-ud-din Ahmad was elected Secretary of the newly formed Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature in 1938, and he performed his duties with his customary zeal.

As an educationist, Zia-ud-din Ahmad made an extensive study of the contemporary educational system and wrote on the problems of education in the subcontinent. In 1917, he was appointed one of the two Indian Members of the Calcutta University (popularly known as Sadler) Commission. Apparently, the area of the Commission's investigation was confined to the territorial jurisdiction of the Calcutta University. But its recommendations greatly influenced the subsequent development of higher education in the subcontinent. Zia-ud-din Ahmad wrote nine chapters for the third

volume of the Commission's Report in collaboration with another Member, Dr. Gregory, and the tenth chapter for volume V on Muslim education by himself. The low state of Muslim education in Bengal was due to Government indifference and Hindu intolerance. As a Member of the Commission, Zia-ud-din Ahmad was informed that Hindu examiners of Calcutta University discriminated against Muslim candidates in the assessment of answer papers. The allegation was too wild to be believed. He had to go through thousands of scripts to ascertain the truth.¹ The fact was not allowed to be mentioned directly in the Report, but the language in which its authors deprecated the practice of "juggling with marks"² and the names of candidates on scripts seems to bear out the charge.³ Zia-ud-din Ahmad also wrote a detailed memorandum on the working of the Trust known as Mohsin Fund⁴ which had been originally endowed for the advancement of Muslim education but had been diverted from its legitimate use to subsidize the education of non-Muslims.

Shafaat Ahmad Khan (d. 1948). An eminent historian who was appointed Professor of History at the University of Allahabad after a brilliant academic career at Cambridge, Dublin and London. Shafaat Ahmad Khan belonged to a small body of Muslim intellectuals whose thinking had been deeply coloured by the vision of a peaceful world under the aegis of the League of Nations. During the years following the end of World War I, the doctrine of national self-determination was much in the air. The angry campaigns launched by

1 Mohammad Amin Zuberi, *Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 202.

2 Calcutta University Commission (1917-19) Report, Part II, p. 6.

3 Ibid., p. 12.

4 Cf. 'Abdul Sattar, *Tarikh Madrasah-i-'Aliyah*, (Dacca, 1958).

important ethnic groups against the territorial settlements made by the peace-makers of Versailles had led to a League-supervised system of minority treaties. Shafaat Ahmad Khan closely studied the Indian political question and concluded that the Muslim problem in the subcontinent was analogous to the problem of minorities in Europe and would lend itself to an identical solution. Shafaat Ahmad Khan based his small book, *The Rights of the Muslim Minority in India*, on an examination of the provisions of various Treaties and Conventions bearing on the rights of minorities. These included rights of nationality, life, personal liberty, freedom of worship, equality before the law, equality in civil and political status, equality of treatment and security in law and, in fact, the use of their own language. There was to be no discrimination in admission to public employments, functions, honours or the exercise of professions; minorities were entitled to maintain and control private charitable, religious, social and educational institutions; they were also assured an equitable share of public funds for educational, religious or charitable purposes.

The book is prefaced by an account of Shafaat Ahmad Khan's propaganda tour in Britain (1927), where he had gone to plead for the statutory recognition of minority rights and their incorporation into the Constitution. The author also mentions some of the difficulties he encountered in putting forth the Muslim view point before men who mattered in Britain.

Hafiz Hidayat Husain. Hafiz Hidayat Husain of Kanpur, a lawyer by profession, led the Central group in the United Provinces Legislature in the early days of Dyarchy. He gave an independent and self-respecting lead to his community and refused to be

influenced by extraneous pressures, emanating from the Congress or from the bureaucracy.

Mawlawi Mohammad Yaqub was a seasoned political worker and a capable legislator. He was one of the principal organisers of Muslim united front (i.e. the Muslim Conference) at a time when acute differences among the Muslim politicians had greatly reduced Muslim influence in Indian politics. He was a valiant fighter in the cause of Muslim rights and strove to obtain fair treatment for Muslims in the services.

Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan (d. 1958). Nawab Ismail Khan was born in a family noted for its love of learning and reformist zeal in the realm of letters. He also imbibed Victorian social conventionalism in the course of his education in England. He started his public career as a lawyer and worked with Pandit Motilal Nehru. As a young man he joined the Khilafat Movement and became one of its zealous workers. For a long time he showed a leaning towards nationalism. Dissillusioned with the Nehru Report and the decisions of the "All-Parties Conference", he severed his connection with the Congress but continued to remain on friendly terms with his former political colleagues. He withdrew from the Muslim Conference for its lack of firmness in dealing with the Government on the subject of Muslim demands. Mohammad Ismail was a man of unrivalled influence, though his independence of mind and love of fairness did not make him an ideal party man. It was said that he was in politics but not made for politics. His refusal to subordinate convictions to expediency often earned him much ill-deserved misunderstanding. In the war time he presided over the Muslim League "Defence Committee" which was charged with making arrangements for the physical safety of the Muslim masses in

the event of the expected Japanese invasion. As Chairman of the League Committee of Action, he had to take important and at times unpleasant decisions. But his integrity was undoubted. He was mainly responsible for the Muslim Legislators Convention (1946) held in Delhi, which clarified the Pakistan resolution of 1940 and demanded the establishment of a single Muslim State in the subcontinent and the adoption of a programme of Direct Action after the failure of negotiations with the Cabinet Mission. He was one of the League nominees for inclusion in the reconstructed Central Government which would have taken office in terms of the Mission Plan of 1946. After the Partition, he chose to stay in India and was elected Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University, a post which he filled for a short period. The last years of his life were spent in dignified retirement.

The Muslims formed a small minority in Bihar, but in view of their comparative progress in the field of education they occupied a fairly important position in the life of the Province. As the twentieth century advanced however and the virus of Hindu communalism spread in the Province their position became more and more difficult.

Mazharul Haque: was always noted for his independence of judgment and his spirit of sacrifice. He played a prominent part in the Kanpur Mosque case and when the Khilafat movement was launched he threw himself into it and sacrificed a lucrative practice at the Bar.

Ali Imam (d. 1930). The public career of Ali Imam illustrates the political habits of a small class of influential intellectuals who worked for Muslim solidarity in their own way and were at the same time prepared to make substantial concessions to Hindu communalism.

politics. It is difficult to gauge the extent of his influence in Government, but he must share the responsibility for Failures and frustrations occasionally provoked them into plain speaking, but on the whole their attitude was one of compromise. Professionally and temperamentally a lawyer, Ali Imam had a flair for politics. In 1890 while studying in Britain he assisted a Congress delegation in a mission of publicity and propaganda. On coming back to India, he devoted himself to law and built up a lucrative practice. His earliest public interests were civic and educational. He was elected a trustee of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, in 1903, and began to take a keen interest in the Mohammedan Educational Conference. The partition of Bengal (1905) was followed by a colossal agitation engineered by vested interests. The agitators vilified the Muslim community and used every calumnious adjective against it. The Muslims were compelled to shake off their political lethargy. Ali Imam was closely connected with what followed. He accompanied the Simla deputation of 1906 and was one of the founder-members of the All-India Muslim League. In 1909, he was chosen to preside over the Amritsar Session of the League. His brief presidential address summed up Muslim feelings towards the anti-partition agitation and expressed unrelieved pessimism about the prospect of an understanding between Hindus and Muslims. It condemned the Hindu bigotry which exalted sectarian catchwords to the status of national slogans, parochial ceremonies to the level of national observances and controversial historical figures to the rank of national heroes. The Hindu press naturally resented these observations.

In the same year, Ali Imam was nominated a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. His tenure of

office coincided with the era of Muslim awakening in the Government of India despatch (addressed to London) proposing the annulment of the partition of Bengal.¹ After the completion of his term, Ali Imam came back to law and politics and was found to be in the forefront of the peace-makers between the League and the Congress whose efforts culminated in the Lucknow Pact. However, he soon accepted the post of Prime Minister of Hyderabad State and was again out of public life for several years. After relinquishing that appointment he returned to public life, and when the Nehru Committee was nominated by the "All-Parties Conference" to prepare a draft constitution for the country, Ali Imam accepted its membership. He contributed nothing to the Committee and hardly attended any of its meetings; yet he affixed his signature to the report whose outrageous recommendations were unanimously repudiated by Muslim India and brought about the much needed unity in Muslim ranks.

In 1927 a Hindu-Muslim clash took place at Betia in which 17 Muslims were killed. This was followed by a series of unprovoked attacks on Muslims by Hindu mobs. The Bihar Congress failed to condemn the aggressive acts of the Hindus, and this led to the secession of a number of leading Muslims from the Congress, including Mawlana Shafi Daudi, hitherto a staunch Congressman, and the formation of the Anjuman-i-Muhafizat or Defence Association. This Anjuman endeavoured to provide relief and assistance to the Muslims who were subjected to persecution. Ali Imam became the President of the Association while Abdul Hafiz, Advocate, and Abdul Aziz, Barister-at-Law, became its Vice-Presidents.

¹ *The Times* London, 13 December, 1911.

The Nehru Report published in 1928 caused widespread resentment among the Muslims of Bihar as well as other parts of the subcontinent. A general Provincial Muslim Conference was called at Patna by Shafi Daudi to censure the recommendations of the Report which militated against Muslim interests. This Conference attracted a huge gathering of some forty or fifty thousand persons, including thousands from the outlying districts of the Province. A number of leaders from other provinces were also invited, including Mohamed Ali who had been specially invited to preside.

In 1930 the Muslims of the subcontinent lacked a strong political organisation. The Khilafat Committee had become defunct, whilst sharp differences and personal rivalries among its leaders had split the Muslim League. An All-Parties Muslim Conference was convened at Delhi under the presidentship of the Aga Khan. This 'Conference' continued to function for some years from Patna to which its secretariat had been transferred, and made vigorous representations on behalf of the Muslims to the Round Table Conference in London. Shafi Daudi worked as Secretary and S. Mahmud Sher and S. Najmul Huda as joint Secretaries of the Muslim Conference.

Salah-ud-din Khuda Bakhsh. Salah-ud-din Khuda Bakhsh stimulated interest in the history and culture of Islam by translating several well-known German works into English and helped to develop in Muslim youth a pride in its great heritage.

Two Muslim Ministers, Mohammad Fakhar-ud-din (d. 1934) and Abdul Aziz (d. 1946), adopted vigorous measures to redress the Muslim deficiency in education. They instituted a system of scholarships, increased the number of free studentships and encouraged the education

of Muslim women. Mohammad Fakhar-ud-din had the chair of Urdu established at the Patna University, increased grants to the madressahs and set up the Madressah Examination Board. This Board reorganised the existing madressahs and established many new ones, prepared the syllabi and conducted the examinations of *Mullah*, *Mawlavi*, *'Alim* and *Fazil*. Under Abdul Aziz, the Madressah system was further strengthened. The Board was reorganised and the syllabi were revised. He was an open-handed man and was always ready to help good causes. The great success of the Muslim League Session at Patna in 1938 was due in no small measure to his organising capacity.

Muhammad Yunus (d. 1952) had played a prominent part at the time of the visit of the Simon Commission to India and had, as the leader of the Mohammedan Association, made a strong representation of Muslim interests to the Commission. In 1937, after the refusal of the Congress to accept office, as the leader of the Independence Party, the second largest group in the Assembly, he was called upon by the Governor to lead the interim ministry. During the few months when he was chief minister, of the province, Muhammad Yunus proved himself a bold and vigorous administrator and restored Urdu to its rightful place as a language of the law courts. This measure was later on rescinded by the Congress in its days of power.

Abdul Aziz also made efforts to reinforce the Muslim press by organising the first Muslim news agency (i.e. the Orient Press) in the sub-continent. From the beginning, all news agencies in the country were owned and almost entirely manned by non-Muslims and functioned as parts of the Congress propaganda machine. They either ignored Muslims or singled them

out for bad publicity. They habitually twisted the news to the disadvantage of Muslims. In broadcasting the accounts of Hindu-Muslim riots, for instance, they suppressed the incidents of Hindu high-handedness and systematically built up the legend of Muslim aggression. The Orient Press supplied the corrective. But it came too late and did not achieve much.

Ibrahim Rahimtoola (d. 1932). Born in a family with mercantile rather than political traditions, Rahimtoola's youthful days were cast in changing times in which the civic life of Bombay was animated by men of talent and integrity. Rahimtoola was elected a city father in 1892 and rose to be the President of Bombay Corporation within seven years. His municipal career was crowded with strenuous work extending over a quarter of a century. An enthusiast for mass education, he felt appalled at the educational stagnation of his own community. To overcome parental unwillingness to send children to municipal Urdu schools (which did not teach the *Qur'an* and therefore could not attract Muslim pupils) he initiated a move for the necessary change of curriculum. The proposal was received coldly. But Rahimtoola's sincerity won the majority support for it. The teaching of the *Qur'an* was sanctioned by the Corporation and the number of Muslim students in municipal schools increased rapidly.

In 1906, the electoral issue became the subject of a burning dispute. Rahimtoola threw the full weight of his influence in favour of separate Muslim representation. Concurrently, he drew up a plan under which Muslims retained the right of participating in elections from a few mixed constituencies. This scheme answered some of the Hindu objections against separate electo-

rates and was accepted by the Government. The representation of communities under the Minto-Morley Reforms was devised accordingly. The experience of the Muslims in mixed constituencies conclusively proved in course of time that they could not give up separate electorates without sacrificing their interests.

As a politician, Rahimtoola was moderate and unostentatious. In March 1913, the change of the League constitution led to serious recriminations between the parent League in India and its branch in London. The office holders of the London League claimed absolute autonomy. Rahimtoola mediated between the two and was chosen for the Presidentship of the League in the following year. His address analysed the causes of growing estrangement between Muslims and their rulers and concluded with a forthright defence of the new orientation in Muslim politics. Rahimtoola sat in the Bombay Legislature for about six years (1910-16) and was the first non-official member to exercise the right of introducing private bills. His bill for the registration of charities was wholesome and opportune. But it was withdrawn because the Government promised to bring in a more comprehensive measure. The undertaking was not kept. But the Waqf Law enacted by the Central Legislature in 1923 was based on the principles embodied in the original Bombay bill. Rahimtoola was later elected to the Central Legislative Council in 1913 where his wide knowledge of commerce and intensive study of finance and currency enabled him to make material contributions to budget debates. He ranged himself on the popular side in the discussions on the Press and Defence of India Bills. It was largely through his efforts that industries, tariff and railway commissions were appointed to shape Government policies of these

vital sections of administration. In 1928, he was invited to preside over a committee appointed to investigate into the working of the Aligarh Muslim University.

Sir Abdur Rahim. Sir Abdur Rahim was born in a rich and highly cultured family of Bengal in September 1867. His father Mawlawi, Abdur Rab, was a land-lord in the Midnapur District. Abdur Rahim passed his Matriculation examination from the Midnapur High School and took his B.A. (Hons.) Degree from the Presidency College, Calcutta, securing a good first class. In the M.A. examination in English literature, he stood 'first among the first Classes,' of his Presidency. After completing his studies at the College, Abdur Rahim left for England to join the Bar on a scholarship awarded by the Begum of Bhopal; he returned to India at the end of 1890 and started practice in Calcutta. In the course of three or four years Abdur Rahim attained fame as a lawyer and attracted the attention of the Government. He was appointed Presidency Magistrate for the northern division of the city of Calcutta in 1900, a rare distinction for an Indian in those days. Three years later he resumed his practice and soon became famous as a lawyer. In 1907 he was appointed Tagore Law Lecturer for "Muhammadan Jurisprudence". The lectures delivered by him were published in the form of a book in 1911. It is regarded as an authoritative work on the subject and is used even today with advantage by the students as well as practitioners of law.

Sir Abdur Rahim, now a top-ranking lawyer, was appointed judge in the Madras High Court in 1908. At the Bench, as at the Bar, he soon gained reputation for his wide learning and sound judgement. In 1912 he was

deputed to act as a member of the Public Services Commission, returning to the High Court in 1915.

Besides his profession Sir Abdur Rahim took a keen interest in education. He was a member of the Senate of the University of Madras and for several years a member of its Syndicate. His services to the cause of education were widely appreciated in South India, and he was asked to deliver Convocation Addresses of the Universities of Madras and Mysore.

Before joining the Bench he used to take active interest in Muslim politics; he was among the founders of the Muslim League and was closely associated with the drafting of its constitution. He was also a member of the historic Simla Deputation of 1907. For a number of years he was a member of the Court of the Aligarh Muslim University and the Madras Muhammadan Educational Association. He was the President of the Board of Visitors in the Madarsah-i-Azam and the Government Muhammadan College at Madras.

Abdur Rahim's convocation Address delivered at the University of Madras on 31 March 1910 is an important document. Its main feature was a departure from the stereotyped form of such addresses; he repudiated the criticism levelled against the existing universities that they had become godless and pointed out that the religious beliefs of a young man are not shattered simply by his studying modern sciences and philosophy.

"So far as Hinduism is concerned", he said. "I think it is a fact too palpable to be ignored that English education has either led to or been concomitant or, its revival. . . . According to them (educated Hindus) it is but a reversion to the religion of the Vedas, the

Upanishads and the Gita. As regards the Muhammadans, who have been educated under the present system, I know they yield to none of their co-religionist in their devotion to the teachings and ideas of Islam." He has discussed this point in some detail and made a reference to the benefits and advantages of Western education. "But", he however concludes, "all that I am concerned to point out is that the desire for progress which is now so marked among the peoples, was not created by English schools. It was generated by the mere contact with a progressive civilization."

It has been stated above that Abdur Rahim was keenly interested in education and the education of Muslims in particular. Presiding over the twenty-ninth session of the All-India Mohammadan Educational Conference held at Poona in December 1915, Sir Abdur Rahim laid emphasis on the point that in the peculiar conditions prevailing in the subcontinent the Government had to take the responsibility of educating the people. He was sorry at the failure of Mr. Gokhale's Bill, because, "I am afraid public opinion. . . . did not express itself with sufficient clearness and definiteness." He emphasized the importance of free and compulsory education but taking a realistic view of the situation he "did not expect that such a measure can be applied all at once throughout India." With remarkable courage he pleaded the cause of Urdu, particularly as far as the educational efforts of Muslims were concerned. "With a few exceptions," he said, "it is the desire of Muhammadans all over India that the vehicle of primary education should be Urdu, which is not only looked upon as a national language but is practically the only vernacular through which it is possible to impart ins-

truction in the tenets of their religion or in those moral and civic duties which among the Muhammadans are best enforced by the sanction of religion. . . . Whenever there is a demand for Urdu schools it should be met, and in other primary schools there should be facilities for giving instruction in the fundamentals of Islam to Muhammadan boys". Abdur Rahim, it is evident from these words, was among those leaders of the Muslims who believed that their future lay in accepting an ideology based on Islam. Though a Bengali by birth he emphasised the importance of Urdu as a language in which Muslim children were to receive their instruction.

In 1919 he delivered the Convocation Address at the University of Mysore, in which he discussed several aspects of educational problems including questions like that of scholarships for students and increased emoluments for the teachers.

He had already given expression to his views on education in his minute attached to the Report of the Public Services Commission. The question before the Commission was, by what means could employment of Indians be extended; it should, however have been, to what extent appointments were to be made from England. "The general policy" he said "to be kept in view is that public service of India should be recruited in the country itself." He stated his views with remarkable courage and pointed out that the British official was here to the disadvantage of the country; "he is expensive to train, expensive to employ—two men, roughly speaking, being required to do one man's work—and is a dead loss to the country when he retires." The Indian official on the other hand became the centre of further growth.

Though an official for the most part of his career

Abdur Rahim commanded wide respect in all sections of the people for his ability, integrity, courage and sound judgment.

Syed Ameer Ali (1849-1928). Syed Ameer Ali came of an originally Iranian family; his ancestor, Ahmad Fazil, came to India as a soldier in Nadir Shah's army (1739). He did not return to Iran with the invader but preferred to join Mughul service. Fazil's son left Delhi and settled in Mohan (Awadh); he rose to a high position in the service of the Nawab-Wazirs. Ameer Ali's father, Sa'adat Ali, migrated to Bengal where at Chinsurah, his distinguished son was born on 6th April, 1849. Ameer Ali was a brilliant and pains-taking student both at school and college. He took his M.A. degree in History and Political Economy, and then joined Law. He was awarded a state scholarship for advance studies in Law in England. On his return to India he started practice at Calcutta (1874) and soon became a popular figure in the social and political life of Bengal. He found the Central National Mahomedan Association in 1876. Two years later he was appointed Presidency Magistrate, but gave up the post in 1881 and resumed practice. His reputation as a Barrister and public leader attracted the notice of the Government; he was nominated to the Bengal Legislative Council, and subsequently to the Imperial Council. In 1887 he was awarded a C.I.E., and three years later appointed a judge of the Calcutta High Court. He was the second Muslim to be raised to this high position, Syed Mahmood being the first. After fourteen years of distinguished service as a High Court Judge he retired in 1904 and decided to settle in England. This decision, though partly due to the fact that he had married an Englishwoman, was taken

by him because he thought he could have better facilities there for his many-sided activities. For nearly a quarter of a century Ameer Ali served the cause of the Muslims in different fields. He set up the London branch of the Muslim League and made it a fairly active organization. In 1909 he was sworn in as a Privy Councillor; he was the first Indian to be raised to this position.

Ameer Ali's decision to stay permanently in England created a gulf between him and his people. Nevertheless, he spared no efforts to serve his country, particularly the Muslim community. Like Syed Ahmed Khan he believed that the Muslims should remain aloof from the Congress; but he was fully conscious of the fact that the Muslims could not rely upon the British Government for the proper safeguarding of their interests; they had to stand on their own legs. He was strongly in favour of separate representation of the Muslims because "any attempt at amalgamation at the present stage would mean the submergence of an ill-organised, badly equipped and badly trained minority into a majority vastly superior in numbers and immensely better organized. No one acquainted with the social, religious and moral conditions of the Moslems can view such a contingency without the greatest misgivings.¹ This however did not mean that he was against cooperation between Hindus and Muslims for the attainment of a common goal.

Ameer Ali's fame however rests on his literary rather than political achievements. He was interested in the history and culture of Islam from the earliest days of his career. While still a student of Law in England he wrote his *A Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mohamed* which was warmly received in

1. Quoted in *Eminent Mussalmans* (first edition, n.d.) pp. 161-62.

England by people interested in Eastern history. It was however his *The spirit of Islam* which earned him widespread fame as a great authority on Islam. It has run into several editions and reprints and is read with advantage by students of Islamic History even today. One may not agree with Ameer Ali's interpretations of some teachings of Islam here and there for at times he becomes too apologetic in his approach; however, on the whole, he has presented some of the most important problems pertaining to Islamic History and Culture in a manner which is effective and convincing. His other work, *A Short History of the Saracens*, though inadequate in details, is one of the most readable compilations on the subject. Syed Ahmed Khan was undoubtedly the first Muslim scholar who critically examined the writings of the orientalist, which had created many a misunderstanding with regard to Islam and the Prophet. But he wrote in Urdu and only a few of his major works were rendered into English. Ameer Ali on the other hand wrote in English, and being closely associated with the nineteenth century life in England he had a better understanding of the Western world. Hence his writings made a greater impact on the West, even though he was not always so scholarly as Syed Ahmed Khan. They are however of great value and he is one of those distinguished writers who will be remembered for their contribution to Islamic literature.

CHAPTER XV

OFF-SHOOTS OF ALIGARH MOVEMENT*

Islamia College, Etawah

Sir Syed's Movement was subjected to severe criticism. The press was almost unanimous in denouncing whatever he wrote or said. Special papers were started for that purpose. One of them was *Najmul Akhbar* issued from Etawah, a town in the vicinity of Agra and only a hundred miles away from Aligarh. The proprietor was Hafiz Ruhullah Khan, a local magnate, and a descendent of Nawab Khair Andish Khan, the Governor of the area under 'Alamgir I. The editor of this weekly journal was a young firebrand, Bashir-ud-din, who was destined to play an important role as a journalist. He belonged to the well-known Kamboh community of Marehra. His father had an other-worldly turn of mind so the child Bashir-ud-din could get very little of formal education. But he was endowed with an agile and fertile brain; in early adolescence he could write verse and readable prose. His writings were mostly devoted to sharp criticism of the Aligarh Movement. This endeared him to his kinsman,

*A number of Muslim institutions were started in different parts of the Sub-Continent by learned bodies and educationalists who took inspiration from Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's Movement. The history of the origin and development of some of these institutions has been given in this chapter by way of illustration.

Ruhullah Khan, who appointed him editor of the *Najmul Akhbar*.

Unlike others, Bashir-ud-din's criticism was logical, balanced and plausible, therefore Sir Syed paid special attention to it. He read Bashir-ud-din's writings carefully underlining important points and then replied to them in the "*Tahzib al-Akhlaq*". Soon afterwards Sir Syed invited him to the annual session of the Muslim Educational Conference. This visit was a turning point in his life, resulting in a drastic change in outlook. Sir Syed explained to him at some length the objects of his Movement and such were his convincing arguments that Bashir-ud-din, whose motives were sincere, was converted to his views. He returned from Aligarh a changed man, denouncing with his usual vehemence who doubted Sir Syed's sincerity. The new policy of the editor annoyed the proprietor of the paper to such an extent that he decided to discontinue it and close down the press. Bashir-ud-din could not be so easily defeated. He purchased the press and started his own paper "*Albashir*" which he continued to own and edit till his death in 1956. Through this paper he launched a vigorous campaign against the die-hards and called upon his co-religionists to adapt themselves to changed conditions. "For sheer survival", he wrote "it is necessary for our community to equip itself with the moral and intellectual tools of the western world. Scientific education occupies the topmost position among the requirements of the age". He matched his precept with example and established a school of his own. Etawah was predominant a Hindu town with a small population of Muslims. His own means were limited and he had no influence over his co-religionists. He was conscious of

these difficulties. In spite of them he launched his project.

With eight students, of whom three were boarders, and no funds the school began to function in 1889. Mawlawi Bashir-ud-din was both the sole teacher and the superintendent of the hostel. The school began to grow and very soon need was felt for more funds. The local Muslims were either too poor to contribute anything or utterly indifferent. Once Bashir-ud-din had to pawn his furniture in order to pay the teachers.

Mawlawi Bashir-ud-din was in constant touch with Sir Syed and his colleagues and he studied the working of the school at Aligarh. He adopted the same pattern including its Proctorial system and extra-curricular activities. On one point, however, he differed. Aligarh was modelled on the lines of Oxford and Cambridge and a high cost of living was its characteristic. Bashir-ud-din was however familiar with the financial difficulties of the Muslim middle classes and therefore he wanted to keep the cost of education as low as possible. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk who had by this time retired from Hyderabad service and was living at Etawah advised him to model the Etawah school strictly on the lines of Aligarh, but to bring down the cost of education without affecting its quality. Sir Syed approved of the scheme but not without some reservation¹.

By the beginning of the present century, the school had established its reputation and students thronged to it from different parts of the subcontinent. The school was fortunate in securing the services of Syed Altaf Husain. He was sent to Aligarh to study law, but his intelligence and promise attracted the notice of Syed Mahmood who advised him to adopt an academic career.

¹ *Al-Bashir*, 1895.

He joined Bashir-ud-din" School and after a year was appointed Headmaster. For forty years from 1904 to 1944 he guided the destinies of the institution. He was revered by his pupils not only for his considerable erudition but also for the calibre of his character and the loftiness of his ideal. Under him the institute developed into the largest residential school of the subcontinent having more than 400 students in residence. It became the most cherished feeder of the M.A.O. College "I find a definite stamp on the Etawah students," wrote Mr. Morrison in a letter "and would have no ado to mark one among a thousand. . . I always give them the first preference".¹

A visitor to Etawah today would find on the main road from the Railway Station a magnificent structure which would remind him of the classical glories of Islamic architecture. Unaided by architects or engineers Bashir-ud-din created this building by assimilating considerable knowledge of Islamic tradition of architecture with domes and minarets. Entering the main hall he would discover decorative motifs in brass relief borrowed from many famous Islamic buildings.

This structure houses the class rooms only. There are several hostels for the resident students of the school. They are spacious and well planned. There are no less than five large buildings to accommodate the large number of students who even now come not only from all parts of India but also from countries so far flung as East Africa, Malaya and Indonesia. One of these hostels was built by Hafiz Haleem, a prominent business-man of Kanpur.

School life revolved around the activities of the residential students. The Headmaster was the provost and supervised the various hostels through Proctors and

¹ This letter is preserved in the College Museum.

sub-Proctors. Discipline was strict but paternal. Cases of indiscipline were, therefore, rare and punishments were mostly psychological and corrective. Every hostel was encouraged to chalk out its own programme of games, campfires, social occasions and picnics, Dramas were staged once a year and generally depicted the political and social problems of the community.

Religious instruction was an integral part of the programme. Apart from the regular classes there were seminars and lectures. Every hostel had a mosque and attendance at the prayers was compulsory. The inculcation of self respect and sound principles and training in polite behaviour were hall-marks of the education imparted at Etawah.

Through the energetic efforts of Mawlawi Bashir-uddin and the Headmaster an excellent library containing printed and manuscripts was built up for the school. The manuscripts were subsequently transferred to the school museum. The special feature of the Museum was a collection of Mughul *farmans* over 500 in number ranging from the reign of Humayun to that of Shah 'Alam II a number of other heirlooms, also found their way into the Museums. Similarly there were separate collections of historical and geographical material which served as very useful adjuncts to the teaching of the two subjects. There was a cabinet of rare coins.

Rawaqi Muzzamil

During the war period the school ran a hostel for poor students where for a nominal fee of Rs. 5 promising students were provided with food, books, clothes and beddings. The students were required to do their own work. When the scheme was first broached it was considered to be impossible but Bashir-ud-din with his characteristic tenacity made it successful. In the begin-

ning 30 students were admitted but the number gradually rose to 100.

With their economic importance in view Bashir-uddin added commerce and agriculture. In 1944 the school after facing difficulties was raised to the status of an Intermediate College.

Etawah has played an important role in the educational history of the Muslim Nation. It occupied a central position next only to Aligarh and built up traditions which inculcated sentiments of Muslim patriotism and pride in the cultural and religious heritage of Islam in the subcontinent.

Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore

Sir Syed's example was followed by the Muslim in many parts of the subcontinent. Many institutions came to be established of there a few deserve mention.

For the last one thousand years, Lahore has been a great Muslim cultural and intellectual centre. Thanks to the patronage of arts and letters on the part of the Ghaznavid Sultans, there sprang up a large number of *medrasahs* and *khanqahs* in the city, but also in the intellectual traditions continued to flourish freely, till the Mongol invasions brought devastation to the land.

Under the Mughuls Lahore could once again boast of rapid progress in the domain of education and learning. In accordance with the prevailing system the educational institutions of Lahore were financed by pious endowments and state grants, and education was completely free. These facilities seemed to have been utilized to the fullest. Towards the end of Muslim rule, according to competent observers the city enjoyed a remarkably high rate of literacy.

In the anarchy following the weakening of the Mughul Empire the Sikhs devastated large areas of the

Province, from which Panjab had a brief respite under the able administration of Nawab Abdus Samad Khan and Nawab Mu'in-ul-Mulk. Ultimately however the Sikhs set up their hegemony over the area between the Sutlej and the Indus.

This was the darkest period in the history of the Panjab and the Muslims lost not only their independence, but also suffered a serious set-back in whatever intellectual progress they had made. The annexation of the Panjab by the British brought peace to the region but failed to create conditions conducive to the growth of intellectual and academic activities. The war of Independence of 1857 added to the difficulties of the Muslims. Looked upon with suspicion, they found the doors of Government services closed to them. Dubbed as "rebels" they were in no position to work in an organised manner in the field of education. Besides dislike for western education contributed to the general apathy and inertia.

The non-Muslims came forward to fill the vacuum thus created. They were encouraged by the Government. The portals of Government service closed to the Muslims, were open to them. This provided an incentive for higher education and they took not only the fullest advantage of the Government institutions but established their own as well.

Towards the close of nineteenth century, the impact of Sir Syed's Movement was felt all over the subcontinent and the Panjab was no exception, for in this region the organised attempt on the part of Christian missionaries and the Arya Samajists had created a serious situation calling for immediate attention. It was in March 1884 that Mawlana Qazi Hami-ud-din,¹ a kind

¹ It may be noted that he was grandfather of the well-known public worker, Dr. Khalifah Shuja'-ud-din.

hearted man, invited his pupil Mawlawi Ghulamullah Qasuri (then Revenue Minister in Farid Kot State) and a number of other public-spirited persons to a small gathering and without any fanfare set up the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam in a small house¹ and started a school for children.

On September 22, 1884, the establishment of the Anjuman was formally announced at a public meeting and Qazi Hamid-ud-din was elected its first President. Maulana Ghulamullah Qasuri was appointed as Secretary and Munshi Abdur Rahim Khan as Treasurer. The Anjuman decided to work for the following aims and objects:

- (1) To arrange for the religious and general education of Muslim boys and girls.
- (2) To propagate and defend Islam.
- (3) To counteract the propaganda against Islam, through speeches and publication.

The finances were secured through a membership subscription of four annas a month and donations. There was another source of income tapped by a traditional method. Small earthen pots were placed in a large number of houses. Every time a meal was prepared, the housewife put a handful of wheat flour into the pot. Every week this flour was collected, by the office-bearers and members of the Anjuman. It was sold in the market and the proceeds were used in furthering the objects of the Anjuman. The financial position of the Anjuman during the first year of its life was unbelievably modest. Its annual income was Rs. 754 and the expenditure amounted to Rs. 344. Such was the humble beginning of the Anjuman which in course of time became a massive

¹ It is interesting to note that the monthly rent of this house was Rs. 2/8/-.

organisation with a budget of millions of rupees and possessing considerable immovable property. This progress was due to the untiring efforts, persistent zeal of not only the pioneers but also of the successive teams of selfless workers who continued the tradition of service to the Anjuman. Among them may be mentioned Nawab Sir Fateh 'Ali Khan Qazilbash, Mian Sir Mohammed Shafi', Khan Bahadur Sheykh Inam 'Ali, Khan Bahadur Sheykh Amir 'Ali, Sir Mohammad Iqbal, Nawab Shah-nawaz Khan of Mamdot, Sir 'Abdul Qadir and Dr. Khalifa Shuja'-ud-din.

The Anjuman has expanded its activities in several directions, both male and female in arts. It has established educational institutes in arts, sciences and technology for men and women; its maintenance orphanages for boys and girls, it publishes literature on Islam. Of these its services in the field of education had the greatest impact on Muslim Society and politics. The Anjuman started with a primary school which within three years became a High School known as Islamia High School of Shereanwala Gate. In 1912 another high school was set up. These schools could not cope with the increasing number of students, therefore two more high schools were established. Side by side with these existed a high school for girls. Later the Anjuman set up a school at Gujar Khan in Rawalpindi District.

As only a limited number of students could go to the M.A.O. College, Aligarh because of the distance the Anjuman felt that the establishment of a College at Lahore on the same lines would bring higher education within easy reach of the people. Therefore a modest beginning was made in 1892 by starting the first year class consisting of eleven students in two rooms of the Shereanwala School building. The College began to

expand and by 1903, Degree classes were initiated. Within two years a big plot of land was purchased and in another two years, His Majesty Amir Habib-Ullah Khan of Afghanistan laid foundation stone of the college buildings.

Islamia College is one of the biggest educational institutions in Pakistan. In recent years its enrolment has risen to over 2,000 students, including 1,200 science students. The contribution of the college to general Muslim awakening has been great. Its students played an important role in the Muslim national movement in the Panjab.

In 1939 the Anjuman established an Islamia College for Girls, which has since developed into a post-graduate institution. It lay great emphasis on education in science for which well equipped laboratories have been provided for. The Anjuman also made provision for training girls in handicraft.

In 1907, the Unani Tib Classes of the Medical College were transferred to the Anjuman by the Panjab University. For several years they formed part of Islamia College. In 1926, however, a full-fledged Tibbia College was established and equipped with a laboratory and a dispensary.

One of the objects of the Anjuman was to counter the propaganda campaigns against Islam launched by the Christian missionaries and the Arya Samajists. In the very first year of its existence, the Anjuman published a widely circulated pamphlet in defence of Islam. Later a Publications Department was set up. In 1885, *Risala-i-Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam* now a weekly, made its appearance. It has been active in publicising the Principles of Islam.

In view of the deplorable dearth of books that could cater to the religious and cultural requirements of Muslim children, the Anjuman produced and published a large number of books some of which were included in the school curricular. In 1928, the Anjuman expanded its press and published standard works on religious and literary themes. Besides, a substantial number of textbooks on modern subjects like physical sciences, economics and geography were brought out.

A landmark in the history of the Anjuman publications was the production of an absolutely correct text of the Quran. Over a hundred thousand rupees were spent on the project and the services of the finest calligraphists were utilized and ultimately an authentic text was printed in blocks. "A service to the Muslim cause which only emperors and kings could have rendered" was the comment of Syed Sulayman Nadawi, a scholar of high calibre.

The history of Anjuman's orphanages dates back to 1886 when a poor Muslim widow went to a Christian missionary hospital for the medical treatment of her ailing child and the mother and child were both baptized. The Anjuman succeeded in bringing them back into the fold of Islam. That incident led the Anjuman to establish an orphanage for girls in 1887 and another for boys in 1890. Later Widows Home was added to the orphanage.

The purpose was to save the destitute children and widows from falling into the hands of non-Muslim missionary organisations. However, the Anjuman did not stop there. It converted the orphanages into 'homes' and gave the orphans education and professional training in various crafts. The Anjuman also provides for the marriages of the girls in orphanages. At many critical

phases in the history of the sub-continent, these orphanages proved their usefulness. The Moplah orphans, victims of Bihar and Quetta earthquakes, and later the destitute children and widows of the 1947 holocaust found shelter at these orphanages.

The role of the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam has been well summarized in one of its publication in the following words: "The Anjuman aimed at the 'lowly poor'.... to bring the enlightenment of the Muslim faith.... education and learning within the reach of the humblest whom there was nobody to look after and many of fleece and exploit...."

"The Anjuman also discharged the supreme duty of saving the poor Muslims from falling a prey to the temptations offered by the enemies of Islam...."

The importance of the Anjuman in the life of the Muslim can be gauged from the fact that Iqbal made it a point to attend its annual functions where he recited some of his best known poems. Among these may be mentioned *Shikwah*, *Jawab-i-Shikwah*, *Khizr-i-Rah* and *Tulu'-i-Islam*.

Sind Madrasah, Karachi

The British conquest of Sind had a most disastrous affect upon the Muslims. Having been deprived of their position as rulers they could not reconcile themselves to subjection to an alien Government which also encouraged their economic exploitation by the Hindus. The Muslims of Sind were not prepared to work for the new Government preferred to withdraw from active life. They sought solace in a life of quiet study and peaceful contentment. The mosque, the *khanqah* and the *maktab* became the scene of his limited activity. He showed no interest in trade or Government employment, not even in fighting forces

It was in this atmosphere and on this account, these circumstances made the Muslims of Sind passive, contemplative and unproductive in late 18th and early 19th centuries.

Consequently, education in the modern sense did not exist at all. It was considered sufficient to be able to read the *Qur'an*, and a few classical writers of Persian and the emotional and spiritual poems of Shah 'Abdul Latif. The vast majority were peasants, simple, poor, ignorant, yet happy living by the light of their faith.

On the other hand the Hindus who had adopted many features of Muslim Culture and morasse including food and dress now began to imitate the British. They learnt English and were admitted to Government service; they also received Government patronage in trade and thus they became prominent in every walk of life.

The new Schools were founded in the urban areas where the Hindu population was dominant. The Muslims had little use for urban life and resided mostly in villages. This in addition to other reason hampered the spread of the new education amongst them. Besides there was religious prejudice against western education which the Muslims of Sind shared with their co-religionist in other parts of the subcontinent. They failed to understand the significance of the new developments and were left behind in every field, with the inevitable result that they degenerated rapidly conditions continued to deteriorate until Syed Ahmed Khan started his movement.

In the Province of Sind he inspired a local lawyer, Hassanali Effendi. He dedicated himself to the educational uplift of the Muslims of Sind.

Hassanally Effendi convened a meeting of a few leading muslims of Karachi where a decision was taken

to start the Sind Madrasat-ul-Islam. It was inaugurated in a simply ceremony in 1885. The school was first located in an old building near Boulton Market. However, the founder was not satisfied with the building and its environments. One day while he was walking along the Frere Road, a 'Caravan-Serai' on the junction of the Serai and Frere Roads attracted his attention; the Star on the building facing the Serai Road caught his fancy. He decided to acquire the site for his School. After frantic efforts he succeeded in securing it from the Karachi Municipality. The foundation stone of the present school building was laid in November 1886 by Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy of India. The main gate still displays the crescent and star that had once decorated the caravan-serai. The existing structure was completed in the year 1890. Following the tradition of Aligarh an attempt was made to blend modern education with religious instruction. A strong feature of the scheme was to provide residential accommodation for the students.

The management of the School was vested in a registered body, Sind Madressah Board. The Founder was elected its First President and his son Wali Mohammad was appointed Principal. In spite of the dearth of Muslim teachers in Sind the School was run efficiently by importing suitable talent from other parts of the subcontinent. Under the fostering care of the Principal the school made progress and gained public confidence because of his insistence on the strict observance of the code of Islam in the institution. Prayers were held regularly and were attended by all inmates. The sanctity of Ramazan was maintained.

The death of Hassanally Effendi occurred in 1896; it retarded the progress of the School. After some time,

the Board was reconstituted with Revenue Commissioner-of-Sind as its first ex-officio President, and the Collector of Karachi as its ex-officio Vice-President and Chairman of its Standing Committee. The new Board appointed Percy Hyde a graduate from Oxford, who had formerly served Aligarh as the new Principal. The tradition of appointing European Principals lasted for a long time which had its advantages as well as disadvantages. Thus the Board assumed a semi-official character. The official President and Chairman came to possess a pre-pondering influence in the management of the institution.

After a brief tenure, Hyder retired and was succeeded by Vines who also had been at Aligarh. This was symbolic of the link that existed between the two institutions. Vines ran the school ably and showed sincere devotion to the cause of Muslim Education in Sind. His term of office came to be looked upon as the golden period of the school and none of his successors was able to achieve the same success. He was faced with the problem of the paucity of funds which he was able to overcome through his influence and relentless efforts backed by official support.

Among those who served the institution well, should be mentioned Dr. U. M. Daudpotta, a well-known scholar of Arabic and Persian. It is significant that he himself was a son of Sind Madrasat-ul-Islam. The Sind Madrasat-ul-Islam in course of time developed into a major institution. Students thronged to its portals not only from Sind but also from the neighbouring Muslim countries. The school has the proud privilege of counting Qaid-e-Azam Mohamad 'Ali Jinnah, among its alumni.

Amongst others may be mentioned Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and Shah Nawaz Bhutto.

In 1938 through the efforts of Hassanally A. Rehman, the present Honorary Secretary, the constitution of the Board was revised and official element was eliminated, at present the Board provides education in Arts, Science, Commerce and Law at the College level, in addition it runs three secondary schools one of which is for girls. Its institutions have in all an enrolment of 7,000 students.

The History of Sind Madrasat-ul-Islam is in fact the history of modern Education among the Muslim of Sind. As a result of Hassanally Effendi's efforts the British also started taking interest in Muslim Education, and appointed a commission to study the problem of Muslim Education in Sind in 1911. Till the end of the Nineteenth century, there were only three Government High Schools in the whole of Sind, and all dominated by Hindus. But now the Muslims also became active in the field of education and established a number of schools on the western pattern with a provision for religious education in almost every important town of Sind.

Muslim Education in the South

In shaping the history of the Deccan over the centuries, nothing has exerted so profound an influence as its geographical location. Cut off from the Indo-Gangetic plains by the Vindhya and the Satpura ranges on the one hand, and the Narbada, the Tapti and the Godavari on the other, this triangular plateau has mostly escaped the storms and stresses to which the northern plains were periodically subjected over the centuries. In consequence, it has largely remained on the periphery of the mainstream of Indian history, if not outside it. Even so,

these geographical barriers, formidable as they were in an age of poor communications, were not yet so insuperable as to dampen the zeal of the missionary, the greed of the trader or the intrepidity of the conqueror. So that South India has been invaded time and again from the north.

From the conquest of the Deccan by Malik Kafur in 1309-11 to the fall of Tipu Sultan in 1799, South India, for the most part, remained under Muslim hegemony. Several local dynasties rose and fell, and for some time it was also part of the Delhi empire, though its control was generally never effective and all-embracing. Yet, though remaining on the fringes, South India was over the centuries increasingly subjected to Muslim influence from the north. Persian became the court language of the local dynasties; Urdu became popular and was developed as a written language. Both the Mujahidin movement¹ and the 1857 Revolution² had their echoes in the South. Thus, though, remaining on the fringes, South India had, slowly and in a large measure, come within the mainstream of the thought-currents of Indian Islam.

Thus influenced, the Muslim community in the South developed, in its essentials, on the same lines as the one in the north. Likewise, Muslim education in the South was modelled on the pattern obtaining in the north.

Among the various madrasah founded by Muslim chiefs in the South, one has survived the storms and stresses of political upheaval during most of the

¹ Hunter W. W., *The Indian Musalmans* (Calcutta, 1945); reprint, pp. 34, 42.

² T.R.E. Holmes, *A History of the Indian Mutiny* (London, 1885), pp. 50-51, 483-486.

eighteenth century, and, after an inconsequential career through most of the nineteenth century, became the nucleus of Muslim education in this region in the present century. This madrasah¹ was founded by the Nawab Wallajah of the Carnatic about mid-eighteenth century, and was placed under the charge of the great Muslim savant, 'Allamah Malik-ul-'Ulema Bahr-ul-'Ulum Maulana Abdul 'Ali of Frangi Mahal. Organized on old lines, the madrasah imparted instruction in Arabic and Persian. Upon his death, the Maulana was succeeded by his son-in-law, Moulvi 'Alauddin, who, in turn, was succeeded by Mawlawi Shahabuddin, a descendant of the famous Qazi Mubarak. These illustrious names brought prestige to the madrasah, and it became immensely popular.

Nawab Ghulam Ghouse Khan, the last ruler of the Carnatic dynasty, who was intensely devoted to the cause of education, developed this madrasah further, carried out reforms in its syllabi, put it on a sound financial basis, and named it as "Madrassa-i-'Azam" after his poetic name, " 'Azam". About this time the madrasah was housed in one of the palaces of Azimuddowla, in Chepauk (Madras). Upon the death of the last Carnatic ruler in 1855, the madrasah came under the aegis of the Government of Madras which took over the revenues of the Carnatic for the maintenance of the madrasah along with a Muslim poor house (*langar khana*) and the Muslim public Library. Later, in 1859, the institution came under the direct control of Government, its syllabi

¹ Our account of the madrasah is based on the brochure: *Government Muhammadan College, Madras, Silver Jubilee Commemoration Book, 1918-43* (Madras, 1943) pp. 15ff (henceforth referred to as the *Silver Jubilee Commemoration Book*. See also *The Muslim Year Book of India and who's who* (with complete information on Pakistan, 1948-49) (Bombay, 1949), p. 270 (henceforth referred to as *The Muslim Year Book*).

was modernized to include instruction in English, and the first European headmaster was appointed.

But the Muslims were in no mood to take advantage of it. Like their co-religionists in the rest of the sub-continent, the Muslims in Madras at this time were too consumed by a sense of despondency and despair over the loss of political power, and by a deep-seated aversion to everything British, including education, to exploit the opportunity thus afforded. Attendance was thin in the Madrasah even as in the Harris School—which was also established for the exclusive benefit of Muslims¹—and it tapered off in the higher classes.² So apathetic they were that by 1871 only one Muslim student had obtained the degree of the Bachelor of Arts.³ To make matters worse, the two higher classes of the Madrasah were transferred to the Presidency College in 1871, and the Madrasah was reduced to the status of a Middle school. The European Headmaster who did much to develop the institution, was also transferred.

It may, however, be noted that the state of Muslim education in the South was not as deplorable as that

1 Cf. "Prior to 1854, the Muslims did not enter the modern educational institutions to any appreciable extent. They remained sullen and reserved in their attitude to the British administration and continued to educate their children in the traditional *Maktabs* and *Madrassahs* type", rather than send them to Mission or Government schools of the modern type", vide Nurullah, Syed, and Naik, J. F. *A History of Education in India* (Bombay, 2nd revised ed., 1951, p. 202.

2 Proceedings of Home Department, Education Branch, 1873; Para. 5 of letter no. 1609, dated Madras, the 18th Sept., 1871, from D.P.I., Madras, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of St. George: quoted in Lal Bahadur, *The Muslim League, its History, Activities and Achievements* (Agra, 1954), p. 12.

"Wastage among Muslims at the primary level was always appreciably greater than the general wastage in schools". This was a general trend among Muslims throughout the sub-continent. See *The Report of the Indian Statutory Commission Report*, (London, 1930) Vol. I, p. 394.

3 Proceedings of the Home Department, Education Branch, 1873; Extracts from the proceedings of the Government of Madras, Education Department, No. 288, dated Oct. 7, 1872; quoted in Lal Bahadur, p. 13.

obtaining in the rest of India except Oudh. In 1871-72, for instance, while Muslims constituted but six per cent of the total population, the percentage of Muslim boys in schools and colleges were 44¹. In the next decade, a good deal of progress was made so that in 1880-81, "the special schools maintained by Government were 11 in number, 7 of them being Anglo-vernacular middle schools, and 4 Anglo-vernacular primary schools. Nine schools, Anglo-vernacular or vernacular, were maintained by Municipalities and of aided schools with a special provision for Musalman pupils, there were 4 Anglo-vernacular, and 210 vernacular. Other inducements had also been held out to Musalman students... a special Deputy Inspector of Musalman Schools had been appointed; an elementary Normal school had been established at Madras; and the University of Madras still continued to allot to the Arabic and Persian languages at its examination a maximum of marks considerably larger than that carried by vernacular languages. The combined results of these measures were eminently satisfactory. In place of the 5,531 Musalmans at school in 1870-71, the returns for 1880-81 give 22,075 or 6.7 per cent of the total number under instruction, while the percentage of Musalmans to the total population of the Presidency is only 6 per cent. The proportion of boys at school to those of a school-going age is for Muhammadans 15.1, for Hindus 13.7".²

This progress notwithstanding, the Muslims in the South as in the rest of India were backward when compared to the Hindus in four essential respects. Firstly, the lack of religious instruction in the public institutions

¹ Mahmood, Syed, *History of Education in India*, p. 142; quoted in Nurullah and Naik, p. 405.

² Mahmood, p. 156, cited in Nurullah and Naik, p. 406.

shield them away from these institutions to private schools. Secondly, as we have noted earlier, wastage among them at the primary, middle and secondary levels was considerable, and few pursued their studies at the collegiate stage. Thirdly, the percentage of Muslim girls in schools was meagre, though not altogether negligible. And lastly, they stood no comparison to Hindus in Government service or in professions.¹

By the eighties public spirited men, influenced by the Aligarh movement, were in the field, trying to float organizations devoted to the cause of Muslim education. One such was the Anjuman-i-Mufid-i-Ahl-i-Islam which was founded in 1885.² Mention may also be made of the Anjuman-i-Islamia of Madras and the Dindigal Anjuman which, in their programme and orientation, betray the influence of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and the Aligarh Movement.³

As a result of their efforts and the awakening caused among the Muslims, the state of education among them improved considerably during the next two decades. In 1901, for instance, 140 per mille of the Muslims were literate while the figure for the general population was only 119. Among females, the figures for both Muslims and the general population were the same: 9 per mille. Except for Central provinces and Coorg (where Muslims were mainly urban and hence had a higher literacy), these figures were the highest for Muslims in any province. Even so, in the higher stages of instruction, the number of Muslims continued to remain meagre.⁴

1 See Nurullah and Naik, p. 408.

2 *Golden Jubilee Souvenir of the Muslim Educational Association of Southern India* (Madras, 1954), p. 149; hereinafter referred to as *Golden Jubilee Souvenir*.

3 See Lal Bahadur, p. 4.

4 *Ibid.*

Such was the state of Muslim education in the South when the Muhammadan Educational Conference (founded by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in 1886 to repeat the Aligarh movement on an all-India basis) held its fifteenth annual session in Madras, in 1901. Presided over by Nawab Muhsin-ul-Mulk, this session marked a turning point in the annals of Muslim education in the South. It proved that "given the opportunity and the impetus, they can accomplish as much as any other sections of the community" and that "if they, as a class, are educationally backward in educational progress, they have in them the stamina which ought to ensure them success in every effort they make".¹ The Conference, moreover, focussed their attention for the first time on the lack of organization and cohesion among them. It enabled them again, for the first time, to realize, in the words of Mr. Justice Boddam, "that they are one community having at least one national object in common such as should be sufficient to induce them all to lay aside their differences and jealousies, and to join hands for the benefit and improvement of themselves and their descendants with each and every member of their own creed".² Justice Boddam (who presided over the first sitting of the Conference) reminded them, "Here there are no Sir Syed Ahmads and no wealthy men of your community, who can establish a second Aligarh for Southern India. You must do it for yourselves, and you can only do it by persistent self-sacrifice, but if you flinch now, your opportunity will be lost to you for ever, and the residue of a once mighty people will sink without hope of resuscitation".³

¹ *The Hindu, Madras*, 27 December, 1901 (editorial).

² Quoted in *ibid.*

³ *The Madras Mail*, 27 December, 1901.

Thus guided, the Conference discussed at length the state of Muslim education in the South, and took some very vital decisions. It recommended reform and improvement in the Madrasah-i-Azam, the raising of its status to the collegiate level, and its transfer to a building of its own. It also recommended the introduction of Urdu, Persian or Arabic as a second language, of religious instruction for Muslim students,¹ and social reform among Muslims. Above all, it decided to set up the Mohammadan Educational Conference of Southern India to attend to the educational needs of Muslims in this region.² Thus, it may be seen, this first meeting of the Conference in Madras helped to stir up in the Muslim South a spirit of emulation, to develop Muslim education on broad and sound principles, and to inspire a new and vigorous spirit of self-reliance among the Muslims of South India.

The Mohammadan Educational Association of Southern India³ which now came into being, was in the nature of an extension of the Aligarh movement to the Muslim South. And like its prototype, it played a vital role in the expansion and development of Muslim education in this region. Over the decades, it accomplished its aims and objectives with remarkable sincerity; in fact, it spearheaded the movement for the spread of education in various parts of South India. With a band of sincere, devoted and selfless workers, it organized fund-collection drives both within the country

1 These were among the cardinal demands of Muslims in this period. For instance, see *The Report of the Hartog Committee*, pp. 193-94; cited in Nurullah and Naik, p. 719.

2 *Golden Jubilee Souvenir*, p. 30. See also *Silver Jubilee Commemoration Book*, p. 17.

3 Our account of the Association is based on the *Golden Jubilee Souvenir*.

and abroad—to raise money for helping poor but deserving students to receive education.

Safely launched on its career by persons of such eminence as Mr. Justice H. T. Boddam (who wholeheartedly identified himself with the cause of Muslim education in the South), Hon'ble Syed Mohamed (a grandson of Tipu Sultan) and Mr. Justice (later Sir) Abdur Rahim (later President of the 1925 League session at Aligarh) who charted its destinies in the first ten crucial years, the Association marched from strength to strength and presently grew increasingly influential. It created a healthy interest in education in the mofussil areas by holding annual conferences, and helped to set up similar organizations in other towns to pursue the cause of Muslim education. Through its efforts, educational organizations and schools were established in places like Vellore, Nellore, Kurnool and Vaniyambadi. At the last named place, a similar organization was founded in 1903, and a school founded under its auspices later blossomed forth into a college.

Ere long, the Muhammadan Educational Association came to be recognized as the central representative organization of the Muslims of South India in almost every field except the political one. In about fifty years, it awarded scholarships worth more than six lakhs of rupees to deserving Muslim and Harijan students. That apart, it also helped similar associations in other towns to augment their efforts in the service of Muslim education, and acted as the mouthpiece of Muslims for ventilating their grievances to the Government in matters such as grants-in-aid and service representation. No wonder, a non-Muslim English daily hailed the Association's work as a "notable example of non-official initia-

tive and enterprise in the field of education'. "For 50 years", it said on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee celebration of the Association, "it has helped deserving pupils, and students belonging to the Muslim community, and also Harijans, by giving them scholarships, and other help".¹

Reference has already been made to the recommendations of the Muhammadan Educational Conference in regard to the Madrasah-i-Azam.² Soon after the Conference, the school moved to its new premises, in 'Umdah Bagh where the widow of the last Carnatic ruler had once entertained Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Once the school was put on a sound basis, and religious instruction as well as the Islamic languages (Arabic and Persian) were re-introduced,³ the Muslims felt the need

1 *The Mail*, Madras, 28 July 1952 (editorial).

2 For a detailed account of the Government Madrasah-i-Azam and the Government Muhammadan College, see the *Silver Jubilee Souvenir Commemoration Book*, pp. 15-35.

3 Nurullah and Naik note that "it was in this period that Muslims began to emphasize very strongly their demand that they should be given instruction through Urdu. This did not create a problem in areas where they were in majority or where they largely used it. But now the desire to learn Urdu as the *lingua franca* of all Muslims became stronger and there was an almost universal demand to adopt Urdu as a medium of instruction for all Muslims in every part of India". p. 586. This trend caught on in the South too, even in the Tamil-speaking districts, and they were determined "to preserve or revive Urdu as a means of cohesion and self-preservation." Thus to quote the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1907-12*, "in the southern parts of Madras Muhammadans whose mother-tongue is Tamil, are moving in the direction of Urdu; there is an agitation in favour of Urdu as a vernacular in districts of Bombay where it is hardly known to the general public; and the maintenance of a certain number of special Urdu schools in these presidencies is evidence of a like tendency".

However, according to the same Report, "the number of secondary schools in Madras in which Urdu is the medium of instruction is very small and that in other schools Muhammadans are at a disadvantage in the lower classes where a Dravidian language is used" (vide paras. 611-12; cited in *ibid*, p. 587).

for a separate college for themselves.¹ It had been felt for some time that the Muslim students graduating from the high school found it difficult to get themselves admitted in any of the colleges in the city. So, in 1909, a public agitation was launched with the avowed object of setting up a Government college for the Muslims of the Presidency. The agitation at last bore fruit; intermediate classes were added to the Madrasa in 1918, and two years later, B.A. classes were opened. Thus came into being the Government Muhammadan College.

In its first crucial phase, the College had to pass through very critical times. Instructional facilities were limited; the strength poor, never going beyond 40.² At one stage it was mooted whether it was worthwhile to continue it, but public protests and frantic efforts helped to avert the proposal of the Retrenchment Committee to have it altogether abolished on financial grounds. This occurred in 1925 which year also happens to be a turning point in the history of the College. From now on, its progress was swift and the College gradually came to be expanded in the subjects offered. It moved to a new, spacious building in the 'Umdah Bagh itself in 1934, and three years later, its portals were opened to non-Muslims upto 25 per cent of the total strength of the College. Courses in Islamic History and Culture came to be instituted in 1939 and the College, now named as the Government Muslim College, developed into the

1. Cf. "The cry is still for special institutions, but of the type that will fit the Mussalman for the development of modern life, while yet keeping him essentially a Mussalman", vide *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1912-17; cited in Nurullah and Naik, p. 585. Religious instruction in publicly managed schools was permitted in 1911, vide, *ibid.*, p. 724.

2 The number of students in the degree classes in the Government Muhammadan College was less than 10 in 1927 (vide, *The Report of the Hartog Committee*, p. 196, cited in *ibid.*, p. 721).

foremost centre of Muslim education in the South. Its strength in 1945-46 was 349.¹

In developing the College, four principals played vital roles: Mr. Popworth, Mr. E. W. Green, Captain Abdul Hamid, and Dr. M. Abdul Huq. Himself one of the first graduates of the College, Dr. Huq became its principal in 1939 which post he occupied for about nine years. In 1948 Dr. Huq became Principal of the Madras Presidency College; he also acted as Pro Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University for about six months, and later became Chairman of the Madras Public Service Commission before his retirement. Such have been his services to the cause of Muslim education in the South that Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi wrote on the occasion of his death in 1958: "He was another Sir Syed for South India. He founded innumerable schools and colleges and was a patron of a large number of madrasahs and institutions, including those for girls. . . . Wherever he worked, his chief passion was service to the Muslims for which he strived till the end. . . ." ²

Yet another Muslim institution, as humble in origin as the Muhammadan College of Madras but later developing into an equally great centre of education, is the Islamia Arabic College, Kurnool.³ Inspired by Maulana Ahmad of Rawalpindi and starting out as Madrasah-i-Islamiah in 1895, it was initially under the charge of Shamsul 'Ulama Mawlana Muhammad 'Umar of Bellary. Through his devoted efforts and the generous contribu-

¹ *The Muslim Year Book*, p. 272.

² Abdul Majid, "Ek Mithali Shakhshiat: Afdal-ul-'Ulama 'Abdul Huq Kurnooli Murhum" in *Sidq-i-Jadid*, Lucknow, 28, March, 1958.

³ Our account of the Islamia Arabic College Kurnool, is based on two official brochures: *Ru'idad-i-Anjuman-i-Islamia*, Kurnool (1935-34) (Madras, n.d.) and *Bist Sala Ru'idad-i-Anjuman-i-Islamia*, Kurnool (1935-55) (Hyderabad, n.d.).

tions by philanthropists, it soon established itself, and by 1923 was raised to the status of a full fledged college, duly affiliated to the University of Madras. In 1946, steps were taken to organize a first grade college alongside the Oriental College, and a year later, in July 1947, the Osmania College was formally launched on its career.

Among the lesser known institutions, mention may be made of the Baqiyat-us-Saliha Arabic College, Vellore¹ and the Madrasah-i-Jamaliah on the outskirts of Madras (founded 1898). Founded by Al-hajj 'Abdul Wahab Muslim, a divine of Vellore, in 1869, the former was devoted to the cause of propagation and dissemination of Islamic ideas and knowledge. Modelled after the Nizamiah system (in vogue in Iraq), it gives a seven-year course and imparts instruction in the Islamic languages: Arabic, Persian and Urdu. Over the decades, it has been extremely popular and has attracted students not only from the various parts of South India, but also from abroad, especially from Java, Sumatra, Singapore, Burma, the Maldiv Islands and Russian Turkestan. After graduation, students from these places have gone back to their respective countries to spread Islamic learning: by mid-forties they had founded some 80 Arabic schools in their respective countries.

The Madrasah-i-Jamaliah² which was founded by Al-Hajj M. Jamal Mohideen in 1898, caters to various branches of education, including Arabic, literature, history, geography, general science and mathematics. Its Principal at one time was Afzal-ul-'Ulama Mawlawi Abdul Wahab Bukhari who was both a leading educationist as well as an eminent political figure in the

¹ See *Golden Jubilee Souvenir*, pp. 151f.

² See *ibid.*, p. 152.

Province. A keen student of Islam, he later became the professor of Islamic History and Culture, first, at the Muslim College. and, later, at the Presidency College. Islamic learning in the South since the early thirties owes a good deal to his efforts. Since about mid-fifties, he is principal of the New College, founded by the Muslim Educational Association of Southern India.

Besides the institutions mentioned above, the Muslims in the South, operating on the basis of self-help, established a good many schools, madrasahs and colleges. As a result whereof, since 1921 education among Muslims in Madras as in other Muslim minority provinces was "far in advance" of that among Hindus taken as a whole, although at the collegiate level and in the professions they still lagged behind the other major community.¹ In 1936-37, the Muslims in Madras had, by way of "separate" or "special" institutions, two colleges, seventeen secondary schools or madrasahs, 3,166 primary schools or Islamia schools, 67 maktabas and 12 other schools; that is, they had a total of 3,264 recognized institutions and 783 unrecognized schools.² In the same year, a total of 356,000 Muslim boys and girls were attending schools, madrasahs, maktabas and colleges in the Presidency. While Muslims constituted but 7.5 per cent of the population, their percentages for boys and girls attending various institutions were 11.2 and 11.4 respectively.³

Excluding unrecognized institutions, there were in 1945 some 234,445 male scholars (or 10.7 per cent of the total male scholars) in the primary, middle and

¹ *Nurullah and Naik*, p. 718.

² *Ibid.*, p. 720; based on the *Report of the Hartog Committee*.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 718; also based on the *Report of the Hartog Committee*.

high schools in the Presidency; 1,195 (5.1 per cent) in the colleges. In the sphere of professional education Muslim male scholars totalled 1,611 (5.1 per cent) at the school level, and 193 (or 6.2 per cent) at the college level. The figures for Muslim female students were: 124,327 (10.4 per cent) at the school level: 68 (2.5 per cent) at the college level; in the vocational field, they were 206 (or 2.6 per cent) at the school level and 20 (or 3.6 per cent) at the college level.¹

Thus, it may be seen, once aroused from their stupor, the Muslims in the South, though no more than seven per cent of the population, and worse still, financially poor, yet took giant strides in the field of education, and had prepared themselves by the forties to play a worthy role in the cause of freedom and the renaissance of Islam in India.

¹ *The Muslim Year Book*, pp. 311-15.

CHAPTER XVI

GROWTH OF MUSLIM JOURNALISM

PERSIAN journalism made its *debut* in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent in 1822, when *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* appeared from Calcutta. Its Urdu supplement appeared a year after and that gave it an added importance in the history of journalism. This as well as its successors, *Mir'at-ul-Akhbar* and *Shams-ul-Akhbar* belonged to non-Muslims. However, Muslims soon entered the field and in 1831 appeared *Ai'na-i-Sikandari* in which *Ghalib*, the well-known poet, took a keen interest. He not only contributed poetry to the journal but also made convassed subscribers.¹ This was followed by *Mah-i-'Alam Afroz* from Calcutta edited by Mawlawi Wahaj-ud-din, who exposed the scandals of the Awadh Court.

In 1835, emerged two more Persian papers, namely, *Ludhiana Akhbar* from Ludhiana and *Sultan-ul-Akhbar* from Calcutta. The former was owned and managed by Christian missionaries while the latter was owned and edited by Muslims. (Its editor Mawlawi Rajab 'Ali Lukhnawi seems to have been a man of independent views. He fearlessly criticised even the British which was very unusual in those days. It was on the occasion of the trial of Nawab Shams-ud-din Ahmad of Loharu and Karim Khan Gul for the alleged murder of Fraser, the British Resident in Delhi, that the journal became particularly bold and openly branded the prosecution witnesses as liars and unreliable. The coverage that it gave to the conviction and sentence of death passed on the Nawab

¹ : *Kulliyat-i-Nathr-i-Ghalib*, p. 137.

will be remembered as an example of courageous journalism in extremely difficult days.¹

One of the earliest landmarks in the history of Urdu journalism in the Delhi. *Urdu Akhbar* of Delhi was edited and published by Mawlawi Mohammad Baqir, father of Shams-ul-'Ulama Maulana Mohammad Husain Azad. It started publication in 1836, and soon established its reputation as a faithful recorder of events. It contained interesting accounts of the activities of the Mughul Court, news relating to the policies and movements of the officials of the East India Company as well as news stories emanating from the Indian States. The Editorial comments, given at the end of all important stories, were bold and impartial in criticising the administration, British as well as Indian.

The *Urdu Akhbar* was a mirror of the political, social and cultural life at Delhi and was particularly interested in education. Non-communal in outlook, it gave due publicity to all new ventures that helped to promote education. From the literary point of view, it surpassed all its Persian predecessors and had the pride of publishing the latest poetic creations of the Emperors as well as of *Ghalib*, *Zawq* and *Momin*. Its columns featured the literary controversies of the period.

Mawlana Muhammad Baqir, the editor and proprietor of *Urdu Akhbar*, was shot dead in connection with the murder of Taylor, the Principal of Delhi College. However all available records as well as the oral evidence of men in the know of things show that the Mawlana was innocent. He even gave sanctuary to Taylor, but after he escaped from the Mawlana's house, he was killed by a mob.²

1 *Tarikh-i-Sahafat-i-Urdu* by Imdad Sabri, pp. 94-104.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 104-161.

The *Zubdat-ul-Akhbar* of Agra a contemporary of the *Urdu Akhbar*, was edited by Amjad 'Ali. However the *Sayyid-ul-Akhbar* of Delhi was a more important paper. This was started in 1837 by Mawlawi Syed Mohammad Khan, the elder brother of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. According to Mawlana Hali, Mawlawi Syed Mohammad died in 1846 at the age of 34 and Sir Syed handed over the management of the paper to another person, but he himself worked as the major contributor. Of all the papers that appeared before 1857, Mirza Ghalib had a special lining for the *Sayyid-ul-Akhbar*. This was mainly because of the friendly relations that existed between Ghalib and Sir Syed. An indication to that effect is also given in *Kulliyat-i-Nathr-i-Ghalib*.¹

Another journal of significance was the *Siraj-ul-Akhbar* started in 1841 under the editorship of Sayyid Awlad 'Ali. Being the court gazette of the Mughul Emperor, its publication was supervised by Imdad 'Ali Beg, the official news writer of the Court. Besides publishing all the news that emanated from the Court, the journal also contained original pieces of poetry contributed by the Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar, Ghalib and Zawq.

Several other journals appeared before 1857, such as *Jalali* from Lucknow (1844), a religious paper edited by Mawlana 'Ali Hasan Muhathis; *Ahsan-ul-Akhbar* from Bombay, 1844; *Karim-ul-Akhbar*, a weekly paper, and *Gul-i-Ra'na*, a monthly journal from Delhi (1845), edited by Mawlawi Karim-ud-din, a writer of eminence; the *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* also from Delhi (1844) edited by Jamal-ud-din and known for its anti-British views, *'Umdat-ul-Akhbar* from Bareilly and from Madras

¹ *Kulliyat-i-Nathr-i-Ghalib*, p. 174.

(1845); *Muhammadiya* from Lucknow (1845): *Asad-ul-Akhbar* from Agra (1847) edited by Qamar-ud-din, and a large number of others.¹

A study of the Muslim owned Urdu and Persian newspapers before 1857, shows that their policy in general was free from communal prejudices which crept in at a later stage. Their main target of editorial comments and satire were the British, the Indian princes and such officials in authorities as bungled in administration. Of course the newspapers devoted ample space to the reform of Muslim Society and to the promotion of education among the Muslims, but this was not done in the form of a regular campaign. Whatever they wrote on these problems was only in accordance with the normal journalistic requirements. The contents included news stories of local and countrywide significance, a sprinkling of foreign news, some literary articles, letters to the editor and the editorials in which comments were generally made with due caution.

After the War of Independence 1857-59, when Sir Syed started his movement the press played an important part in furthering his objectives. His first journalistic enterprise was the *Scientific Society Magazine*, a bi-lingual (English-Urdu) publication started in 1866. Its name was later changed to *Aligarh Institute Gazette* which was at first published weekly and later on twice a week. So long as Sir Syed lined its editorials with the exception of a few brief intervals were written by him. The journal published articles on social, scientific and political subjects and it was rightly regarded by the authorities as the spokesman of the entire Muslim intelligentsia in India. According to Mawlana Hali, Sir

¹ *Tarikh-i-Sahafat-i-Urdu*, pp. 170-97.

Syed wrote articles and editorial notes mainly on political issues. It maintained a high standard; only news emanating from authentic and reliable sources appeared; accuracy was a passion if not an obsession with Sir Syed; news of all Indian and foreign events was published regularly and continuously so that the reader was kept informed of all developments in important spheres. It would hardly be an exaggeration to call it a quality paper.¹

On his return from England, Sir Syed started in 1870 another magazine named "*Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq*". Mawlana Hali points out that this was modelled on "Tatler" and "Spectator",² founded by Richard Steele and Joseph Addison of whom Harold Herd says, "Together they gave fresh vitality and lucidity to the essay form and all the modern essayists are lineal descendents of this unique partnership. They were essentially moralists, but since their instruction was blended with wit and shrewd insight, their writings were read with constant delight".³ This statement may be applied to Sir Syed as well. It may be mentioned that during the final phase of *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq* lasting for six years he wrote 112 out of a total of 226 essays published.

Through this magazine Sir Syed presented religion in a scientific perspective; counteracted the anti-Islam propaganda of the Christians; told the readers of the great progress of European civilization, urged them to discard bad and harmful customs; tried to improve the standards of social behaviour, convinced the people of the desirability of learning modern sciences; reminded

1 *Hayat-i-Jaweed* by Hali, pp. 113-16.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 146.

3 *March of Journalism* by Harold Herd, pp. 53-54.

them of the glory of their past and did his best to infuse a new life among them. Some of the ideas he expressed shocked the people and brought about a storm of opposition led by some 'Ulama. However, he succeeded in a large measure in influencing the middle classes who were more receptive to his ideas than others.

The *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq* represented a landmark in Urdu Journalism. No Urdu paper before or after it influenced, in such measure, the opinion of its readers on such a wide range of question—social, religious and educational”.¹ His indirect impact on Muslim journalism was no less noteworthy.

The impact of Sir Syed's movement was felt throughout the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. A large number of Bengali, Sindhi, Urdu and English, journals were started and they were able to promote the cause for which he stood. Besides there were some journals in opposition to the Aligarh movement; their contribution in creating consciousness among the people also cannot be ignored.

In Bengali the *Gyan Dipak* of Mawlawi 'Alimullah created a stir among the Muslim intelligentsia of not only Bengal but also of Bihar and Assam.² The *Islam Pracharak* rendered valuable service to the Muslims of Bengal.³ The *Mihir* of Munshi Riaz-ud-din helped in creating political awakening.⁴ The *Bhashana* stood for Hindu-Muslim amity but received no encouragement from the non-Muslims.⁵ The '*Muhammadi*' edited by Mawlana Muhammad Akram Khan, was the first popu-

¹ *History of Indian Journalism* by J. Natrajan, p. 204.

² *Bengali Muslims Vital Role in Journalism* by M. A. Nanna in "*Dawn*" dated July 22, 1956.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

lar mouthpiece of the Muslims of the former provinces¹ of Bengal and Assam.

The *Mu'awin* was the first Sindhi paper that lent support to Sir Syed. The Anjuman Majma-i-Muhammadi also played an important role in furthering the course. Shams-ud-din Bulbul and Allah Bakhsh Abojho, the Sindhi translator of Hali's poetry, were the major contributors to this journal.²

Among the Urdu papers *Oudh Punch* opposed the Aligarh movement. Mawlana Abdul Halim Sharar started *Dilgudaz*, a monthly journal which aimed at the revival of religious fervour. His second enterprise *Muhazzab*, a weekly newspaper, worked in the political sphere as well and generally followed Sir Syed's lead. "*Rafiq-i-Hind*", edited by Mawlawi Muharram 'Ali Chishti from Lahore, in its first phase, supported Sir Syed, but later changed its policy and opposed Sir Syed by all means.³

The year 1888 marked the advent of a new paper named *Paisa Akhbar*, sponsored by Munshi Mahbub 'Alam. *Paisa Akhbar* was the first paper to publish a large number of articles on current topics, unlike the earlier papers which contained mainly articles on literary subjects. With this paper begins the history of modern journalism in Urdu.⁴ This was followed by "*Watan*" of Mawlawi Insha-Allah from Lahore, which was equally full of news and like its contemporary advocated the Muslim cause. The "*Wakil*" of Amritsar was a good specimen of a weekly in Urdu and was exclusively devoted to the well-being of Muslims.

¹ *Bengali Muslim Vital Role in Journalism* by M. A. Nanna in "*Dawn*" dated July 22, 1956.

² *Sindhi Sahafat* by Karim Buksh Khalid.

³ *Hayat-i-Jaweed*, Vol. 2, pp. 269-70.

⁴ *Press in Muslim World* by Abdus Salma Khurshid, pp. 42-43.

The moderate Muslim politics of the day led to the establishment of a number of English-language Muslim weeklies. The leading paper among them was the *Panjab Observer* started towards the end of the nineteenth century with the patronage of Chaudhri Shahab-ud-din. Shaikh (later Sir) Abdul Qadir was its editor from 1898 to 1904. Fazl-i-Husain contributed frequently to the *Observer* and his article "Masterly Inactivity in Politics" caused considerable uneasiness in official circles. Sir Mohammad Shafi wrote a series of articles advocating the creation of a common Muslim political platform for the whole of India in September 1901.¹

In 1900 appeared *Al-Haq* another English-language weekly first from Sukkur and later from Hyderabad. This was sponsored by Sirdar Muhammad Yaqub Khan and the paper gave support to all Muslim movements.²

From Chittagong appeared the *Mohammadan Observer* a fortnightly started by Shah Badr-ul-'Alam who resigned his Government job of sub-deputy Collector to edit this paper. This paper continued for fairly long time and rendered valuable service to the Indian Muslims.³

This phase of the growth of the Muslim Press also saw the rise of journals for women and children. Among these Mawlawi Syed Ahmad's *Akhbar-un-Nisa* and Mawlawi Mumtaz Ali's *Tahzib-un-Niswan* and *Phul* were good specimens of journalism.

During this period, there also existed a very important weekly journal in Persian named, *Habl-ul-Matin*, which was started from Calcutta in 1894. This was edited by Sayyid Jalal-ud-din of Kashan, popularly known as Aqa-i-Mua'yyid-ul-Islam. It held "an important position,

¹ *Press in Muslim World* by Abdus Salma Khurshid, pp. 43-44.

² *Sindhi Sahafat*.

³ *Bengali Muslim's Vital Role in Journalism*.

especially amongst men of learning and in religious circles, in which it has (had) a special weight and influence".¹ This paper devoted most of its space to the activities related to the resurgent Muslim nationalism in various Muslim lands.)

The salient features of the Muslim Press during this period may be summarized under the following heads:

- (a) Education of Muslims on Western lines.
- (b) Reform of Muslim Society.
- (c) Modern interpretation of religion.
- (d) Advocacy of the political rights of the Muslims.
- (e) Demand for the due share of Muslims in the public services.
- (f) Avoidance of clash with Hindus.
- (g) Interest in the affairs of Muslim countries.

From 1905 Muslim politics began to take a definite new turn which in the following year resulted in the establishment of the All-India Muslim League.

Despite Sir Syed's opposition, some of the Muslims had associated themselves with the Congress. Most of them were dis-illusioned when they witnessed the growing influence of B. G. Tilak who carried the Maratha political and religious tradition into the Congress. Secondly the partition of Bengal which created the Muslim province of East Bengal was opposed by the Congress. These two important factors coupled with the education received by the new Muslim intelligentsia in Aligarh led to an increasing cleavage between the Muslims and the Congress. As a consequence the number of Muslim delegates at the Benaras Session of the Congress in 1905 was only 17 out of 756.

¹ *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia* by E. G. Brown.

The same year saw the return to power of the Liberal Government in England and this gave rise to hopes for the introduction of political reforms in India. Thanks to the general awakening of the Muslims, there was a move among them for safeguarding their position in the future political set-up. In 1906 two major steps were taken. Firstly the Aga Khan led a deputation to the Viceroy and secured his approval to the introduction to the Viceroy and secured his approval to the introduction of separate electorates, for the Muslims in legislatures as well as local bodies. This principle was later embodied in the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909. Secondly the All India Muslim League was set up at a representative Muslim gathering in Dacca.

During the same year emerged an important weekly in English named *The Mussalman* from Calcutta which continued for a fairly long period, edited by Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman, the paper pursued an independent policy. Broadly speaking, it supported the policy of the Muslim League but it was not a vigorous exponent of Muslim views and sometimes it advocated a 'nationalist' policy. Moreover it pursued the same moderate policies which were the common feature of its predecessors.

The Muslim Press assumed a militant outlook only when the Muslims received a number of political shocks which opened their eyes. One of them was the annulment of the partition of Bengal. They were given the impression, not once but many a time, that partition was a 'settled fact'. According to the Nawab of Dacca "the Partition gave us a great opportunity to bestir ourselves, and it awakened in our hearts the throbbing of a new national life which went pulsating through the various sections of our community in Eastern Ben-

gal". The annulment of the partition disillusioned the Muslims. More shocks however, were in store for them.

The Muslim world for which they had natural feelings of warm affection was disintegrating under the pressure of Western colonialism. In the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century, this process of disintegration assumed alarming proportions. There came the Italo-Turkish War of 1912 followed by the Balkan War which took away large portions of the Ottoman Empire. In the First World War Turkey lined up with the Central Powers. This placed the Indian Muslims on the horns of a dilemma and their loyalties were divided between their brethren and the British Empire.

During these fateful years arose the Kanpur Mosque agitation which resulted in the death of a few innocent Muslims. Though a settlement was arrived at, the scars it left on the body-politic of India did not disappear.

These years saw the rise and fall of a militant Muslim Press. Three great personalities held sway over the minds of Muslims, namely, Mawlana Mohamed 'Ali, Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad and Mawlana Zafar 'Ali Khan who were politicians as well as journalists and wielded a pen whose sharpness was felt not only in India but also beyond its borders. These enterprising journalists not only led the Muslim political thought of the time, but also heralded an era of technical advance in the domain of journalism. Mawlana Mohamed 'Ali modelled his *Comrade* on the *Spectator* of London. Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad's *Al-Hilal* was a fine specimen of weekly journalism in Urdu, the like of which has not been able seen as yet. Mawlana Zafar 'Ali Khan was the first journalist who brought his *Zamindar* to the

very door of the man in the street and was also the first who subscribed to Reuters and other news agencies. Mohamed 'Ali's *Comrade* catered to the requirements of the English knowing Muslims and carried the Muslim view-point to the British public. Azad approached the intellectual class of Muslims including those who were well-versed in English. Zafar 'Ali's audience was composed of semi-literate masses who had recently become conscious of their rights and privileges, and who fervently hoped for the glorification of Islam. Mohamed 'Ali also wanted to capture the imagination of the masses through his Urdu daily, *Hamdard*, which through an admirable venture only partly succeeded in its mission. The trio met the same fate. In the early months of the first World War, they were thrown behind the bars and their journalistic ventures were suppressed.

The *Comrade* was started in January 1911, and because of its pungent comments, first rate background articles, a lively humorous column entitled GUP and its summary of weekly news, at once caught the imagination of educated Muslims and won the praise of a sizeable number of Europeans who greatly admired the writings of Mohamed 'Ali. The *Comrade* continued to exist till 1914 and during its four-year life espoused the Muslim cause so vigorously that it eclipsed many of its contemporaries. It made no secret of its political views and proclaimed them with a remarkable frankness.

Mohamed 'Ali regarded the Muslims as a separate nation, but with a view to compromising with non-Muslims he did visualise a United India. But this was only in a spirit of compromise as is evident from the following extract:—

“..... the problems of India were not so national as international. And in the International Law, the

strength of a country or Power does not count, for the basic principle of that law is the equality of all nations. The Mussalmans stand on a par with the smaller powers of Europe, and can even claim like those powers an absolute equality in all inter-communal controversies. But they do not do so and limit their demand to such a representation as is adequate and effective for the preservation of their existence and their honour".¹ The *Comrade* continuously and persistently supported the principle of separate electorates and worked for improving the Muslim share in services. It countered the arguments of those who stood for opposition to the partition of Bengal, and when ultimately the partition was annulled the paper wrote a series of articles deploring the British betrayal of the Muslims. Similarly it did its best to support the Muslim demand in relation to the demolition of a part of the Kanpur Mosque and ultimately a compromise was arrived at, which was satisfactory to both the parties. On the non-communal plane, Mohamed 'Ali worked for the Indianisation of services and for the freedom of the press in general. He also strongly supported the cause of Indians in South Africa.

The *Comrade's* contribution towards the understanding of the Muslim world affairs was equally great. In the Russo-Persian crisis, in the Italo-Turkish War in Tripolitania and in the Balkan War, the paper not only expressed the Muslim feelings but also played a very important informative role by bringing out regular supplements on these issues in which articles and news coming from both Western and Muslim sources were published.

¹ *The Comrade*, Vol. I, No. 3, 28th January 1911, pp. 44-45.

For the Press its contribution was two-fold. It supported the cause of the freedom of the Press in general and wrote a series of articles against the Press Act. On the other hand, it worked for an improvement in the standards of the Muslim Press and gave every possible publicity and encouragement to all new ventures of the Muslims in the field of journalism.

The *Al-Hilal* of Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad, started in 1912, struck, according to Mohamed 'Ali, "a new line in journalism by including pictorial illustrations as a permanent feature". He further said: "The adoption of the Turkish type, though not exactly an innovation, is a welcome departure from the obsolete methods which in spite of their clumsiness and tedium still retain a paralysing hold on the Urdu Press of the country". This finely produced journal contained articles of high literary merit on education, politics, history and philosophy, and regular news-letters surveying the current situation in the Muslim world of the day. Politically *Al-Hilal* opposed the Aligarh school of thought and that caused substantial opposition resulting in a fall in circulation. On international affairs, particularly those related to the Muslim world, the contribution of *Al-Hilal* was at par with that of the *Comrade*.

The *Comrade* and the *Al-Hilal* were read by intellectuals; therefore their appeal was limited. It was *Zamindar* that created an urge in the common man to read newspapers and to keep himself informed of the developments around him. Originally it was started as a weekly in 1903 by Mawlawi Siraj-ud-din Ahmad, a retired Post Master and an occasional contributor to Sir Syed Ahmad's *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq*, but it was mainly devoted to the uplift of the villagers. Till the death of its editor in 1909, the paper remained an advocate of

the landlords, peasant proprietors and cultivators of the Panjab. It was Mawlana Zafar 'Ali Khan, the son of Mawlawi Siraj-ud-din Ahmad, who infused a new life in the paper and changed its patten.

The Italo-Turkish War having roused the interest of the Indian Muslims, the *Zamindar* was converted into a daily, which proved a successful venture. The Balkan War gave it a further fillip. The paper employed on its staff men like Niaz Fatehpuri, Mawlana 'Abdullah Al-Imadi and Mawlana Wahid-ud-din Salim Panipati. The *Zamindar* grew in popularity and attained a large circulation. Because of its fearless and independent policy it incurred the wrath of the authorities. In 1911, a security of two thousand was demanded from it. Two years later, it was forfeited and a fresh security of Rs. 10,000 was asked for. To protest against the Indian Press Act, Mawlana Zafar 'Ali Khan went to England, delivered speeches at public meetings, interviewed members of Parliament and wrote articles and a hundred-paged pamphlet against the Act. In 1914 he returned. The security deposit of Rs. 10,000 was forfeited and the *Zamindar* Printing Press was confiscated. Moreover, the Mawlana himself was interned. Soon after that the *Zamindar* was banned because of its pro-Turkish proclivities in the First World War.

The *Zamindar* did not give a clear-cut political lead to its readers, its comments had more of emotion than argument, but it played a great role in creating a taste for reading newspapers and strengthened political consciousness among the Muslims which proved to be an important asset in the future movements.

During these fateful years, the voice of the Muslim Press was muzzled again and again. Mawlana Mohamed 'Ali, Mawlana Zafar 'Ali Khan, and Wazir Hasan visited

England and attempted to convert the British public opinion towards amending the Press Act. The *Ahl-i-Hadith* of Amritsar for having written a reply to a vituperative book of the Reverend Thomas Hovell Bashir was called upon to deposit a security of Rs. 3,000. The *Badr* of Qadian was asked to deposit a similar amount for having discussed the doctrine of incarnation from a scientific standpoint. Being unable to do so the paper stopped publication. As Mawlana Zafar 'Ali Khan told in a London meeting "in the course of three years the Act had been used to extinguish not less than 17 Muslim newspapers and presses".

During the First World War, the Press was suppressed in the Panjab to a greater degree than in other provinces. Some Muslim journalists consequently left Lahore for Calcutta and started their newspaper from there. Chaudhri Ghulam Haider Khan, brother of Mawlana Zafar 'Ali Khan, and Sayyid Habib started *Sadaqat* and *Naqqash* respectively from Calcutta, and these papers had a ready sale in the Panjab. From Bijnor was published the *Najat* and from Lucknow the *Muslim Gazette* edited by Mawlana Wahid-ud-din Salim.

In expectation of constitutional reforms after the War, a united front of the two major political organizations of India was formed resulting in the Lucknow Pact. When the War ended the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 fell short of the people's expectations and the agitation against the Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwala Bagh incident in Amritsar added fuel to the fire that was already burning.

The Muslims were already very much enraged at the treatment meted out by the Allied powers to the Ottoman Turks.

The common objective of carrying on struggle against British imperialism brought Hindus and Muslims close to each other. The Khilafat movement and Non-co-operation movement were merged into each other and India was ablaze with anti-British agitation on an unprecedented scale. Because of repression, the number of papers could not increase but they exercised more profound influence on public mind. The *Zamindar* of Lahore and *Khilafat* of Bombay played the leading role, while the *Siasat* (Lahore), edited by Syed Habib, *Al-Aman* (Delhi), edited by Mawlana Mazhar-ud-din, the *Madina* and the *Najat* of Bijnor and the *Muslim Gazette* of Lucknow lent their active support to the movement.

The objective of the movement was two-fold—the restoration of the Caliph's authority in Turkey and the attainment of Home Rule for India. The former came to nought when the Turks themselves abolished the Caliphate and the latter too did not materialize as Gandhi called off the movement when it showed violent tendencies. The Muslims had suffered much more in the movement than their compatriots and were disillusioned. Moreover they had no faith in the principle of non-violence.

The Hindu-Muslim accord witnessed in the course of the Non-co-operation movement did not last long. There was a reaction which was intensified by *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements.

As a counter measure the Muslims organised the All-India Tanzeem Conference with Dr. Said-ud-din Kitchlew as the moving spirit. He also started a newspaper "*Tanzeem*" to popularise the movement.

An important aspect of the first phase of the communal tension was a change in the opinion of a large

number of leaders, both Hindu and Muslim. They championed a struggle for their communal rights. This change of opinion was also reflected in the policy of the Muslim Press at that time.

As the rift widened, the Muslims felt the necessity of starting a daily newspaper in the English language, which could act as an effective spokesman for the Muslim cause. The *Muslim Outlook*, an English daily, was started in June 1922 by Mawlavi Nur-ul-Haq an enterprising young man. The paper continued for a period of ten years. On its staff worked journalists like Dr. 'Abdul Ghani, D. G. Upson, formerly of the *Bombay Chronicle*, who had accepted Islam, D'Souza and Malik Abdul Qayyum. Among its regular contributors were Syed 'Abdul Qadir and 'Allama 'Abdullah Yusuf 'Ali.

The *Muslim Outlook* could not boast of a large circulation but its influence was great. This may be gauged from the fact that on one occasion, to protest against the arrest of its editor and proprietor 362 public meetings were held all over the subcontinent and in big towns the Muslim business quarters observed *hartal*. Throughout its career of ten years, the *Muslim Outlook* acted as a brilliant exponent of Muslim views and played a great role in championing the Muslim interest and projecting the Muslim view-point at the first Round Table Conference held in London in 1930.

It was in April 1927, that Mawlana Ghulam Rasul Mihr and the writer of this article, having severed their relations with the "*Zamindar*", launched the "*Inqilab*" which continued to appear for 23 years and ceased publication in October 1949.

The *Inqilab* was a first rate Urdu daily. Because of its simple and forceful language, wide news coverage, make-up and display, special articles on current topics

contributed by leading writers of the day, editorials based on thorough study, the daily humorous column '*Afkar-o-Hawadis*' and its consistent policy based on a complete understanding of the national and international problems the *Inqilab* stood high among its contemporaries.

In the struggle ahead, it had the support of other papers which took a leading part, were the *Muslim Outlook* at Lahore (and later *Eastern Times*), *Wahdat* and *Al-Aman* of Delhi, *Haq* and *Hamdam* of Lucknow, *Al-Wahid* of Karachi and '*Asr-i-Jadid*' of Calcutta. These papers represented the separatist trend while *Rozana Hind* of Calcutta, *Madina of Bijnor* and the *Zamindar* of Lahore represented the "nationalist" view-point.

All these papers presented the Muslim point of view on the occasion of the visit of the Simon Commission to India. The Congress arbitrarily announced a constitutional plan for 'Free India' known as the Nehru Report and even held out the threat of civil disobedience if the British did not accept the plan by 31st December, 1930. These newspapers by their persistent campaign broke the spell of the Congress and kept the Muslims aloof from the civil disobedience movement.

At this stage an All-Parties Muslim Conference was convened with a view to forging a united front of all the political elements in Muslim India. The Muslim Press assisted in bringing the different sections of Muslim nearer each other. On the occasion of the Round Table Conference it worked hard for the maintenance of a united Muslim opinion.

The *Afkar-o-Hawadis*, a humourous column, introduced by the writer in *Zamindar*, also became a regular feature in the *Inqilab*. This aimed at reforming the

Muslim society, and exposed false religious notions based on superstition.

On the eve of the introduction of Provincial Autonomy under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935 a number of Muslim newspapers sprang up throughout India. In Lahore the *Eastern Times* filled the gap created by the disappearances of the *Muslim Outlook*. There also appeared a weekly newspaper named the *New Times* which acted as the organ of the Provincial Muslim League. The *Ihsan* also began its career during the phase under review. In Calcutta the *Star of India*, a Muslim English daily appeared. It was edited by Pothan Joseph and later by Lawrence P. Atkinson. In Madras there was the *Deccan Times*, a weekly newspaper. All these newspapers along with the papers already in the field, worked for the All-India Muslim League or for such Provincial parties as followed the lead of the Muslim League.

During the year 1937-40, Muslim India was in great ferment. In seven out of eleven provinces, Congress Ministries came into power and the Congress parties in the legislatures refused to enter into coalition with the Muslim League Parties which commanded the support of overwhelming majorities of Muslim legislators. Instead, unrepresentative Muslim legislators who were elected to the Provincial Assemblies on the Congress ticket were appointed as Ministers. Obviously they could not look after the interests of their co-religionists. The result was an unrest in all the Congress-governed provinces, where the Muslims charged the Governments with doing injustice to their interests. Their grievances were vigorously advocated by the Muslim Press, and the Hindu-Muslim bitterness assumed such dimensions that the Muslims of the subcontinent, united under the

banner of the All-India Muslim League, finally decided and passed a resolution in March 1940, to demand a separate homeland for themselves consisting of the Panjab, Sind, N.-W.F.P., Baluchistan, Assam and Bengal.

The Muslim Press prepared the ground for the passage of the Lahore Resolution of 1940, for right from 1937 many of these papers repeatedly published articles on Pakistan as it was envisaged in the scheme propounded by Chaudhri 'Ali.

The Lahore Resolution gave to the Muslims a clear-cut goal and caused an unprecedented enthusiasm. The Muslim Press played a great role in the Pakistan movement. A number of new papers came into existence. *Dawn* appeared from Delhi under the management of a Trust and under the patronage of the Quaid-i-Azam. It was first edited by Pothan Joseph and later by Altaf Husain. The paper was well-edited and it soon gained popularity. In course of time it became the leading Muslim newspaper in the English language and exercised great influence in moulding public opinion in favour of Pakistan.

From Calcutta appeared the *Morning News* a well-equipped paper, sponsored by Abdur Rahman Siddiqi. At Karachi Pir 'Ali Mohammad Rashidi started the *Muslim Voice*, a weekly newspaper. Lahore saw the birth of the *Nawa-i-Waqt* and its ultimate conversion to a daily under the editorship of Hamid Nizami. The *Eastern Times*, which had been functioning as weekly, was transferred to a new owner and was converted into a daily newspaper. It supported the Muslim League and Pakistan.

Six months after the Lahore Resolution was passed, the Congress on the failure of the Cripps Mission

launched an individual civil disobedience campaign popularly known as the 'Quit India' Movement. The Government arrested the members of the Congress Working Committee, and they were released only after the successful termination of the Second World War in 1945. Throughout this period, the Muslim League as organization did not co-operate in the war effort, but its members were to help the Government in the prosecution of the War. The Muslim Press did its best to keep the Muslims away from the Congress and to mobilise public opinion in favour of Pakistan.

Political activity regained its tempo after the War. First came the Simla Conference which ended in failure. This was followed by general elections in which Muslim League emerged as the undisputed representative of the Muslim people. The election campaign succeeded mainly because the Muslim Press with a few exceptions gave its unstinted and unalloyed support to the Muslim League. Among these the leading role was played by *Dawn* (Delhi), the *Nawa-i-Waqt* (Lahore), the *Manshur* (Delhi), the *Tanwir* (Lucknow), the *Jang* and *Anjam* (Delhi) and some other papers which acted as vigorous spokesmen of the Muslim League.

Within a few days of the launching of the historic civil disobedience movement against the Public Safety Act by the Panjab Muslims under the banner of the Muslim League, the *Pakistan Times* appeared on February 4, 1947. This came at the exact right psychological moment. In the beginning of 1947, the Panjab had virtually no English language Muslim daily with the exception of the *Eastern Times* which was of little consequence. The popular response was great and the *Pakistan Times* soon built up a good circulation.

During the next six months of crucial significance *Dawn*, the *Nawa-i-Waqt* and the *Pakistan Times*, assisted by a large number of other Muslim papers, held aloft the banner of Pakistan till August 1947 when a separate home-land for the Muslims actually came into existence.

CHAPTER XVII

LITERARY TRENDS

(1905-1937)

SECTION I

The twentieth century is a period of radical changes in Indo-Pakistan History. It is an age of clash between tradition and experiment, between the old and the new. The old order changeth yielding place to new, and this change covers almost all the fields of social, cultural, political and economic life. The later nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries were a period of constant struggle; although the immediate results were not very encouraging and there were disappointments and setbacks, still the struggle continued. The War of Independence (1857-59) resulted in a disaster; the immediate loss was heavy and the effects were far-reaching. The people were frightened, terrorised and harassed, but with the passage of time the wounds were slowly healed up. The pace of reconstruction was slow; there were many handicaps and hurdles in the way but the goal was clearly visible. The movement for reconstruction was led by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and his lieutenants. He restored confidence among the Muslims and clearly defined the line of action to be followed by them. He directed all his efforts towards the rehabilitation of the Muslim position, and before he died in 1898, he could see a change coming slowly but surely. The leaders of the twentieth century had the heritage of Syed Ahmed Khan to inspire and guide them. Their efforts as reflected in the literary trends of the twentieth century may be analyzed briefly.

To appreciate fully the importance of Urdu literature of the period under review a brief retrospection is necessary. The rivalry between the Delhi and the Lucknow schools of Urdu poetry had lost its vigour but some of the poets belonging to them were still prominent at the beginning of the century. Lucknow was represented by poets like *Jalal* (d. 1909) *Taslim* (d. 1911) and *Amir Minai* (d.). Actually, traces of the Lucknow school may be found in poets of a later date like ' *Aziz Lakhnawi* (d. 1935) *Arzu* (d. 1957) and *Mirza Ja'far 'Ali Khan Athar*. The poetry of the Lucknow school was essentially a poetry of form. It drew inspiration from purely aesthetic considerations, the perfection of literary form, choice of words, similes, metaphors and all other possible poetic devices. To this school it was the language of poetry which was vital and the theme was only a secondary consideration. The earlier Lucknow poets like *Nasikh*, *Atish*, *Amanat*, *Rashk* and their followers had gone to such an extreme that their poetry became devoid of all inspiration and sentiment and was reduced to a mere play upon words. The poets that followed introduced some moderation and based their poetry on sentiment and feeling. At best, poetry was the expression of their feelings and sentiments and if these were of a universal nature, their poetry might move the readers as well. But it was none of their concern to cater for or give them a message or lead them to the path of action.

The poetry of the Delhi school, older than that of Lucknow, had its own distinctive character. It was essentially emotional and pessimistic in outlook when compared to the lighter vein of the Lucknow school. The traditions of a lyrical poetry established by *Mir Taqi Mir*, remained a guide for future generations in Delhi.

Mir was a poet of pessimism. He had experienced the sorrows of life. He lost his parents when only a child, was neglected and tortured, had to leave his native town and wander from door to door in search of employment, and in search of peace of mind, which he never attained. The social and political anarchy of his age also depressed him. Pathos is a distinctive characteristic of *Mir's poetry*, and for that matter, of all poets belonging to the Delhi school. We are deeply moved by the charm of poetry and impressed by its penetrating expression. It has a meaning but not message. It gives us an impression of the sentiments of the age through the poet's personality but it can not guide us. It has no goal and no ideal. Syed Ahmed Khan and his contemporaries provided that ideal—the ideal of building up a nation and preparing it for a struggle for liberty. Such words as قومیت and قوم in their modern connotation were introduced in Urdu literature for the first time in the writings of Syed Ahmed Khan, and his co-workers. Hali's *Musaddas*, an account of the rise and fall of the Muslims, was the first poem with a purely national theme. Many of the poems written by *Azad* and *Shibli* have also the same feelings running through them.

Akbar Allahabadi did not associate himself with the Aligarh Movement and was critical of some of its aspects. No body would deny the sincerity of purpose which moved him to oppose the aims and ideals of that Movement. He was essentially an easterner and went perhaps too far in his conservatism. He criticized every thing that was new and was afraid of the advancing and ever-increasing influence of the West. To him the old customs and habits of his country with a glorious past were far dearer than the "progress" which would follow westerni-

sation. The very idea of importing western culture, its system of education or any other thing was repugnant to him. He had a quick wit and unique poetic genius with an unusual command over language. This enabled him to give to Urdu some of its most charming satires in poetry. With such symbols as the cow, the camel, the mosque, the college, Shaikh, Sayyid, Jumman (the common man) and a use of English words rhyming with Urdu produced interesting and original poetry. But *Akbar* had tried to swim against the current which is always very difficult. Times had changed, the Government had changed, the sources of inspiration had changed, and a change in outlook was inevitable. *Akbar* or his followers could only delay the spread of western ideas and influences but nothing could halt the march of time.

From *Hali*, through *Akbar*, we come to *Iqbal* whose first appearance as a poet in public in 1901 marks the beginning of a new era. In this year was composed the poem "An address to the Himalayas" which later appeared as the first poem in his earliest Urdu collection, *Bang-i-Dira*. The poem is a *Musaddas*, a form adopted by *Anis*, *Dabir* and *Hali* for longer narrative poems. *Iqbal* has been attracted to the Himalays as a symbol of the greatness of the land which they guard against the invader and also because of their grandeur and beauty. The natural beauty of the landscape has inspired the Urdu poets from the very beginning. In *Iqbal* however it expresses itself as the ardent patriotism of the nationalist. His contemporaries brought together by Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir's well-known magazine *Makhzan* shared the same sentiment. This sentiment of nationalism also finds expression in some of the earlier poems of *Iqbal* like the

"New Temple" and the "Indian National Anthems." These poems are representative of the poet's concern for Hindu-Muslim unity; at this time these feelings were shared by many sincere Muslims. Many poets, like *Isma'il*, *Chakbast*, *Salim*, *Surur* Jahanabadi, *Shawq Qidwai* and *Be-Nazir Shah* were inspired by the love of their motherland. Some of them however do not go beyond portraying its natural beauty, others display a strong political consciousness. Some of them proved to be the torch-bearers of the revolution. From *Iqbal* to *Hasrat Mohani* and *Josh* Malihabadi we can trace step by step the progress of political sentiment. Some of these poets have the restraint and dignity of a sage, like *Iqbal*, some are meek and humble, suffering actual persecution like *Hasrat Mohani*, while others are firebrands like *Josh*. The expansion in the content of Urdu poetry brought about changes in its form and tradition which need a discussion.

All poetry prior to the Aligarh Movement was essentially "subjective" in outlook. This was the main reason for the popularity of lyrical poetry in Urdu in the form of the *ghazal* which essentially portrays the poet's subjective experience and his own interpretation of it. With the new orientation of life under Sir Syed's influence the emphasis shifted to a more objective outlook and the *ghazal* lost some of its traditional popularity, being replaced by narrative or descriptive verse. Thus arose the *nazm*, which soon developed into an important vehicle of social and national aspirations. *Hali* criticised the *ghazal* bitterly. The criticism was timely and sincere, but it was not balanced. The types of *ghazals* produced in the later Lucknow school were subjected by *Hali* to well deserved condemnation but he who had himself written some very good *ghazals* perhaps went too far

when he declared that *ghazal* as a form, with its technique and traditional symbols and themes, was utterly useless as good poetry. He complained of the incoherence in the different couplets of a *ghazal*, and of the cramping influence of emphasis placed on *qafiyah* and *radif*. He disliked the excessive use of hyperbole by the writers of *ghazal*. He thus established a tradition in the criticism of *ghazal*; indeed the later critics of *ghazal* have only followed in his footsteps. In spite of this tradition of bitter condemnation the *ghazal* has shown its vigour not only by its survival but by establishing once again its supremacy in Urdu poetry. The criticism however was not entirely negative in its results, it gave a fillip to narrative and descriptive poetry which has given to Urdu some of its finest poems.

By its very nature "subjective" verse is "individualistic." in content as well as style. Indeed individualism is an essential quality of poetry. As every individual is a member of a society, however rebellious he might be, he can exist only within it. If his verse becomes too personal it will lose interest for others, It will become dull or obscure. This happened to some of our older poets. In our own days *Miraji* supplied excellent example.

Under the influence of the new "objective" attitude poetry ceased to be ego-centric and developed social consciousness. This was only natural. Egoism flourishes in an aristocratic society. Aristocracy itself prospers under well established monarchies. The eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries witnessed the decline of the Mughul Empire and the rapid disintegration of aristocracy. The poet found himself engrossed more and more in the affairs of a broader society and the destiny of the com-

mon man; indeed man now gained in stature, dwarfing the aristocrat. The earlier poets had not been unconscious of the dignity of man; for instance Mir Taqi Mir emphasized the role of humanity in the universe when he said, "the heavens work for ages before Man comes out of the veil of dust". But the same *Mir* shows contempt for some of his contemporaries by saying that poetry is a noble occupation and "carders and cloth-vendors" have no business to indulge in it. Insha-Allah Khan makes Ja'far 'Ali Khan *Hasrat* the butt of his satire because *Hasrat* was a vendor of drugs. Nawab Mustafa Khan *Sheftah* who inspired *Ghalib*, *Mumin* and *Hali* and is considered to be a balanced critic condemned *Nazir Akbarabadi* because instead of "a refined" and cultured idiom he uses the "vulgar" language of the common man.

The decline of the Muslim aristocracy brought about a revolutionary change. The monopoly of the privileged families in producing poets and writers was broken; they now came from all classes and began to sing of the dignity of man, of honest labour, and of the sufferings of the poor. An outstanding example of such poets is *Ihsan Danish* (born 1914). This trend should not be confused with the tendencies born of the Marxist doctrine of class struggle which will be discussed later.

The deep pessimism engendered by a declining society gradually gave place to a healthy optimism. The older poets had occasionally seen a silver lining in the surrounding gloom; more often it was the balm of religion applied to the wounds inflicted by despair. "Do not religion applied to the wounds inflicted by despair. "Do not speak with such dejection," says *Mir Hasan*, "for the Qur'an enjoins you not to lose hope." Such consolation however only deepens the sense of gloom. Whatever its

effects in other spheres of life, the firm control of the British after 1857 created a sense of security, and stability after a century's chaos. This sense of security was merely superficial because it did not solve the problems agitating Muslim mind, yet it created a deep impression. It offered an atmosphere in which the Muslims could turn to constructive effort, a partial success of which created a sense of self-confidence resulting in optimism. The years 1901 to 1938 cover the period of *Iqbal's* poetic activity, from the publication of his first longer poems to his death. Speaking of the spirit of his poetry and philosophy he says: "My times have no element of dejection and despair. The break of the battle is the herald of complete victory." This is *Iqbal's* voice. But *Iqbal* is not alone in this optimism.

There is a corollary to this development. The classical Urdu writers, in prose and poetry alike, generally dealt with the past. The *mathnawis* were devoted to the stories of idolized Prince, or the heirs of wealthy merchants. Sometimes the heroes were semi-historical or pseudo-historical persons. The *marthiyah* (elegy) was by its very nature concerned with the past, commemorating and praising the departed. These were merely methods of escaping the unpleasant present. Having been denied pleasure, glamour and achievement in their own lives, they found compensation in an imaginary or real world of the past. The present held no charm; the future no promise. Therefore they neither discussed the present nor thought of the future. Their only possession of which they could be proud was the past. Even *Musaddas-i-Hali* a great poem and an exquisite piece of art is a story of the rise and fall of the Muslims. It points out some of the causes of the decay and offers suggestions for getting out

of the morasse. But it was left to the poets of twentieth century, led by *Iqbal*, to invite us to jump into the fray, not to be mere spectators. "Do not encamp on the shore of the ocean, where the rythm of life is soft and gentle. Jump into the ocean itself and grapple with its waves for eternal life lies only in trouble."

Iqbal's famous poem, *Khizr-i-Rah*, deals with the chaos prevailing in the entire Islamic world at the end of the First World War, but this is only one aspect of this poem which has a deeper and more lasting significance. For this reason it has been hailed as the new Testament of Modern Urdu Poetry. It embodies the spirit of the new movement: "Rise, the old order has changed. [It is] thy age that has dawned in the East and the West. . . . Hear the joyful music of the awakening of mankind; narrate no more the slumber-producing tales of Alexandar and Jamshid. A new sun has arisen from the womb of existence. Heaven! stop your lament for the stars that have set."

Other poets and writers also took up this theme of courage and hope. The West contributed in the creation of a new orientalism. The philosophies of liberalism, socialism and communism, the progress of science and new ideas in literature, rapid additions to the material comforts of life, a revolutionary conception regarding the role of women in society which came from the west had a great impact on the writers in Urdu. Disillusionment, however, was not lagging too far behind.

The weaknesses of the western civilization are dwelt upon by a number of poets. As the struggle for freedom entered a decisive phase this anti-west feeling became definitely anti-British and found expression in the writings of the poets of "the progressive school." For

some time the spirit of Indian nationalism remained the source of inspiration for our poets and writers. But with this also they were soon disillusioned. The ever-increasing differences with the Hindus could not but affect our literature. The development of Muslim politics has been discussed elsewhere. The Hindu attitude towards Urdu was one of the major factors in the deterioration of Hindu-Muslim relations and had a direct impact on Urdu writers. Nationalism itself as political ideal had little charm for the Muslims. It had led to wars and the division of the human race into conflicting groups. It had weakened the ties of religious, social and cultural kinship. It had divided the great community of Islam. *Iqbal* condemned it with vigour, and pointed out the significance of the Prophet's *hijrah* who left his native city for the sake of his ideals. Intrinsically, too, it had set one people against another and resulted in bloodshed.

The new orientation in literature was strengthened by the Pan-Islamic Movement. Jamaluddin Afghani was one of the champions of the unity of all Muslim countries from the western shores of Africa to the Indian Ocean including Egypt, Turkey, Arabia, Afghanistan, Iran and Muslim India; he travelled extensively in the Muslim world to pursue his mission. He failed to create immediate reactions in India because of the peculiar conditions prevailing here, but he found disciple in Egypt and Turkey where he finally settled down. His ideas, however, appealed to Muslim youth, and in the early days of the twentieth century a Pan-Islamic Society was founded in Britain, which attracted the visiting students from Muslim countries. When *Iqbal* visited England for higher studies the Society was still functioning and he became one of its ardent members. Pan-Islam

became the dominant theme of *Iqbal's* poetry which in its turn inspired other poets and writers. For a century Turkey had been the main target of the imperialistic ambitions. The long and patiently borne sufferings of the Turks aroused feelings of profound sympathy amongst the Indian Muslims. Although they were themselves groaning under the iron heel of British Imperialism, they did their best to help their brothers in Turkey.

This Pan-Islamic sentiment created a wider outlook and encouraged our poets and writers to draw inspiration from Islam and its history. In this connection apart from *Iqbal*, *Shibli*, Zafar Ali Khan, Mohamed Ali *Jawhar* and *Hafiz* Jalandhari deserve to be mentioned. Among the prose writers and journalists the most important are Abul Kalam Azad (in his earlier phase), Zafar 'Ali Khan, Maulana Mohamed 'Ali and Sayyid Sulaiman Nadawi.

A vital problem facing the Community was social and cultural reformation. As in politics here, too, the lead had been given by Syed Ahmed Khan's *Tahzibul Akhlaq*. Nazir Ahmad took upon himself the difficult task of educating Muslim women with a view to bring about social reformation. Nazir Ahmad had struggled hard to establish himself in life. He was a self-made man. With his rich experience of life in all its aspects and his command over language he gave to the Urdu reading public their first novels which were didactic in nature. This was against the traditional view of art, literature and poetry being ends in themselves.

The tradition of novel initiated by Nazir Ahmad was carried forward by the fiction writers of the early twentieth century. Among them mention may be made of *Sharar* (d. 1926) *Sarshar* (d.) and Mirza

Muhammad Hadi *Ruswa* (d. 1931). *Sharar* introduced the historical novel in Urdu and tried to present the glorious past of the Muslims. Today these novels may not be rated very high from the point of view of technique, but they were the fore-runner of the modern Urdu novel. *Sarshar* was *Sharar*'s contemporary and had been associated for a long time with *Awadh Akhbar*. He possessed a lively style full of humour and satire. These qualities are reflected in his famous novel, *Fasanah-i-Azad*. Azad, the central figure, is the moving spirit of the story. He is a wanderer and cannot sit at rest. His wanderings bring him into contact with various social groups, interesting characters and institutions. He is supported by another interesting character, Mian Khoji, whose follies are a bitter attack on the prevailing social conditions. Mirza *Ruswa* was also a self-made man like Moulvi Nazir Ahmad. His own hard struggle in life is finely depicted in his famous novel '*Sharif-Zadah*'. The novel impresses upon the reader the dignity of labour and the way in which small cottage industries or technical and professional skill can help a man and a country in building up a sound economy. His masterpiece is *Umrao Jan Ada*, the story of a prostitute. It is said that the story or at least some parts of it are taken from actual life. Mirza *Ruswa* has sillfully depicted the life in Awadh during the period of its last glory. The greatness of the novel lies in the psychological analysis of character which has been attempted for the first time in Urdu.

Prem Chand and Rashidul Khairi began their literary career towards the beginning of the twentieth century. Prem Chand (1880-1937) published his first novel, *Ham Khurma wa ham Thawab*, in 1901 and started writing short stories regularly about the year 1909.

He is undoubtedly the greatest Urdu novelist and short story writer of his age. He chose for his novels and short stories characters from the life of the common man, the poor cultivator, the small trader, the agricultural labourer and the factory worker. He was the first writer to recognise the importance of rural life and discussing its problem. Many of his stories deal with aspects of the Hind-Pakistan struggle for independence. We read of political activity, strikes, processions, protest meetings and marches and the repressive activities of the British Government and its agents. He pleads for a change in the social and economic set-up of society.

Rashidul Khairi who started writing short stories in *Makhzan* from 1903 onwards was a true successor of Nazir Ahmad. He devoted himself to the task of educating the women of his country. His novels, short stories, essays and articles are all inspired by the same purpose. He started a literary magazine, '*Ismat*', exclusively for women who found a venue of self-expression in its pages. Most of the women writers who later earned high literary reputation were introduced to the public through '*Ismat*'.

In the field of Urdu fiction three more names are linked up with Premchand. They are Sultan Haider Josh, Sajjad Haider Yelderim and Niyaz Fathpuri. They all started writing about the same time but had different characteristics. Sultan Haider's stories have a deep strain of subtle satire and their appeal is somewhat limited. His style is polished and he expects his readers to rise to his own intellectual level. Though he was himself educated on Western lines and lived in Western style, he never failed to criticise strongly the evil effects of thoughtless imitation of the West.

Sajjad Hyder *Yelderim* wrote about love and hate, human hopes and frustrations. He was well read in Ottoman literature, from which he often borrowed. *Niaz Fathpuri*, later known as a critic, stylist and a writer on religious subjects gave us his famous story of the life of a poet, *Sha'ir ka Anjam*. He also translated the *Gitanjali* of Rabindranath Tagore. His efforts gave an impetus to poetic prose depicting delicacy of feeling and romantic ideas. The genus is called *Adab-i-latif*, the nearest translation. Sultan Haider Josh and Sajjad Haider died only a little before partition of India, *Niaz* still continues to write though as a literary figure his influence has considerably declined.

In the field of Urdu Journalism the most outstanding name is that of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad. He first edited *Lisan us-Sidq* when he was hardly fourteen or fifteen years old. He received further training from Mawlana Shibli, who recognised his worth and appointed him editor of '*Al-Nadwah*.' Then he started *Al-Hilal* (in 1912) which immediately became one of the most popular weeklies. No history of the Urdu language can ignore *Al-Hilal*. Later Abul Kalam changed both his style and his affiliations, but his earlier influence was deeper and more lasting.

Mawlana Mohammed 'Ali Jawhar's Urdu paper '*Hamdard*', different in style, had a considerable share in Muslim awakening.

The *Zamindar* of Lahore has a unique place in the history of Urdu Journalism. It was founded and originally edited by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (1879-19?). Zafar Ali Khan had received his education at Aligarh and was inspired with the idea of working for the uplift of the Muslims and their political freedom. Among his

friends and advisers was Mir Mahfooz 'Ali of Badaon, himself a writer and scholar who was highly respected by men like Mawlana Mohamed 'Ali, and *Iqbal*. He always preferred to remain anonymous and never wrote anything under his name. The *Zamindar* had a chequered career because it frequently came into conflict with the British and was penalized for its views. It was suspended several times, but because of public support it could not be suppressed. Zafar 'Ali Khan was a powerful writer and his prose had great popular appeal. His poetry was no less moving and if he had not been drawn into the political affray, he would have made an outstanding contribution to Urdu poetry.

With the quickening of the pace of the Movement for the liberation of India, political fervour began to find stronger expression in poetry. The most outstanding representatives of the Movement are *Iqbal*, *Chakbast* and *Hasrat Mohani*. Sometimes there are strong sentiments of patriotism, desire for liberation and exhortation for action, and occasionally there are references to topical matters, all clothed in fervour and deep emotion. Gradually the doctrine of revolt came to be advocated openly. This tendency is outstanding in *Josh*, with whom also begins another tendency. Sentiments of class struggle came to the forefront. Leftist and even openly communist doctrines are advocated and a new twist is given to the meaning of the words 'freedom' and 'emancipation.' The target is no longer foreign rule, but the capitalistic social order. New values are advocated and sometimes openly and sometimes in a more subtle manner the old values emphasized by religion are sought to be corroded. Conditions in the subcontinent provided ample scope for the propagation of these ideas. The majority of the po-

pulation lived in unhealthy mud houses in unhygienic conditions in isolated villages with poor communications. The cultivators were hardly better than serfs. They could hardly provide bare necessities of life to their families and were badly in debt to usurers who charged extortionate interest. Education was beyond their reach, superstition and ignorance rampant.

Some authors had taken interest in their plight. One of the earliest was the novelist, Prem Chand. In his novels and short stories, he dealt with the problems of the farmers and other villagers. Later, as industrialisation progressed, he brought in the factory worker as well. *Iqbal* also dealt with the injustice of the exploitation of the peasant and the workers. A well-known poet who wrote, like Prem Chand and *Iqbal*, with moderation was *Ihsan*. *Ihsan* himself had passed through the ordeal, and a watchman, therefore he writes with great realism. Soon poets and writers with marked communistic tendencies came to the forefront. They attached all importance to economic problem—the problem of bread as they called it—and overlooked other aspects of human life. They also forgot that even economic problems demanded artistic treatment in literature. A distinction has to be made between art and propaganda, between literature and advertisement. And the communists mostly failed in realizing this distinction or observing it in their compositions.

This criticism brings us directly to the movement known as *Taraqqi-pasand* or 'Progressive.' This movement had its origin in a meeting of some Indian students who met in London in 1935. The manifesto of the Progressive Writers Association was drafted jointly by Dr. Ghosh, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, Pramodh Sen Gupta, Dr.

Mohammad Din *Tasir* and Syed Sajjad Zaheer. This group had Indian associates including Dr. Mohammad Ashraf, Mahmood Zafar, Rasheed Jehan, B. Mukerji and others. Sajjad Zaheer was the first to return to India and having explored the possibilities of establishing the Progressive Writers Association he succeeded in obtaining the support of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Dr. Mawlavi Abdul Haq, Acharya Narendra Deo, Munshi Prem Chand and Dr. Akhtar Hosain Raipuri; he issued a manifesto. Branches of the Association began functioning in various parts of the subcontinent.

In a sense all literature is progressive both in form and spirit. We can trace this progress in Urdu literature from the earliest times to the present day. But the new concept of progressive literature was different. By progressive literature this group meant a literature that stood for the improvement of the existing social order, on leftist lines. The main purpose was to fight capitalistic domination by joining hands with revolutionary forces. These intentions were apparently quite innocent, even pious and praiseworthy. It, however, soon began to seek the subversion of the existing sense of values. In its zeal for revolution it revolted against all established traditions. It even felt foul of its literary heritage and labelled it as reactionary. Instead it drew inspiration from foreign and alien sources. They encouraged experiments in new forms and techniques. This gave new life and vigour to poetry, fiction and literary criticism creating fresh standards and criteria. But the first pitfall came with a tendency to deal with obscene themes. The progressive writers claimed that the ghastly and shocking wounds inflicted upon the body of the society could only be cured by exposition and criticism. The exposition and criticism

came but brought no cure. Instead it appeared that the problems of sex perversion attracted the younger writers as ends in themselves. All of them were not psychologists but without exception they undertook to write upon psychological problems without proper training or background. As a matter of fact the tendency had appeared a litter before the official launching of the Progressive Movement and was reflected in a collection of short stories entitled, *Angare*, (the burning coals) published in 1935. The collection contained ten short stories in all, five contributed by Sajjad Zaheer, two by Rashid Jehan, two by Ahmad Ali and one by Mahmooduz Zafar. Through the stories of Sajjad Zaheer and Ahmad 'Ali, the influences of D. H. Lawrence and James Joyee entered the realm of Urdu fiction. Certain parts were so shocking that ultimately the book had to be proscribed the tendency however did not come to an end. Short stories depicting various forms of sex-perversion continued to be written by the younger writers, many of them directly connected with the "Progressive Movement." Sa'adat Hasan Minto and 'Ismat Chughtai both represent these tendencies and although they have contributed to the development of the technique of the short story in Urdu, their obscenity was often too shocking.

In poetry the tendency is reflected in some poems of N. M. Rashid and in its extreme form in Meeraji. Even Meeraji's admirers admit that dejection, despair and sex starvation had created a perversion in his case but in spite of this they insist that his poetry is the creative art of a genius. Surely there is a delicate margin between the sage and the insane!

The attitude of most of the progressive writers towards religion and religious institutions was no less critical. Their manifesto had declared that they would discourage superstition and encourage free intellectual debate. This led to the practice of labelling religion as superstition, a heritage of an age of feudalism and a the progressive writers unnecessarily dragged religion, even God, into their writings only to vitify them. Such was the case in some poems of N. M. Rashid and Salam Machhli Shahari.

These were then the short-comings of the new movement. It became more of a political movement and its literary aspect was only subsidiary to its political aim.

In 1937 a conference of communist writers was held at Khartoum where one of the speakers declared 'with pen in one hand, we are the soldiers of the indomitable army of the labourers of the world.' This conference agreed upon certain fundamental directives to be issued to communist writers which included (1) Art is a weapon in the hands of the commune (2) Artists and writers should give up individuality and there should be aesthetic organisation for social ends only. The whole movement should be controlled by a central authority and governed by laws enacted by it. Such conferences had their repercussions in the subcontinent as well. The progressive writers failed to understand that artistic excellence is dependent upon the schemes of individual inspiration. They failed because of their slavish adherence to doctrinaire preconceptions and mistook propaganda for literature. Yet they made some contribution to the development of Urdu. They introduced many new forms and techniques, produced translations and adaptations, and emphasized psychological analysis, and estab-

lished stronger traditions of Realism in art. Indeed some of the progressive writers like Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Ahmad Nadeem Qasimi, Majaz and Jazbi have avoided the pitfalls into which their more enthusiastic comrades have fallen and have produced readable works. The progressive writers themselves recognised the harm done to their movement by their more extremist exponents and disclaimed some of them. The movement was launched in 1936 but its fuller development lies beyond the scope of this chapter which ends with the year 1938.

We have briefly surveyed the main trends in Urdu literature from the beginning of the twentieth century to the year 1938. We shall now briefly review the development of certain literary forms and techniques. We shall start with Poetry.

*Ghazal** was well established as a literary tradition at the beginning of the period. Hali's criticism opened new possibilities for *ghazal* and Iqbal gave a new concept to it. Hasrat's *ghazals* brought in political feeling and allusions. Iqbal's later *ghazals* are philosophic. The younger poets used the *ghazal* to portray social and political conditions. Among such writers we may include Jigar, Faiz, Ihsan Danish, Jazbi, Ahmad Nadeem Qasmi, and Firaq Gorakhpuri. During this period the *ghazal* passed through two ordeals. The criticisms of Hali, which finds re-echo in Kaleemuddin Ahmad's condemnation of *ghazal*, was the first blow it received. This meant a triumph for longer poems in Urdu. The example had been set by Azad and Hali. It was followed by Iqbal, Chakbast and their contemporaries. Later on Josh, Hafeez, Akhtar Sheerani and a number of other poets

* A well-known form of poetry in several Islamic languages including Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Urdu, the rhyme patten in *is, aa, ba, ca, da, ca, fa*, etc.

were hostile to *ghazal*. But *ghazal* survived the ordeal and even showed greater vigour and vitality. But the second shock was to follow quickly. This came towards the end with the "Progressive writers". They demanded less restrictions of prosody. The technique of *ghazal* is exacting and requires the personality of a Mir Taqi Mir, or Iqbal, and Hasrat to use it successfully. The progressive writers were hardly equipped for writing under such restraint. They found it easier to compose blank or free verse and freed themselves from the rules of prosody laid down by classical Urdu writers.

A period of ten years from 1936 to 1946 may be counted as the period of the second eclipse of the *ghazal*. By that time however the attack had lost its vigour, the critics of *ghazal* failed to produce a form which could successfully replace it and *ghazal* once more triumphed. The revolution of 1947 created an emotional upsurge that expressed itself in a number of long poems, but the *ghazal* of this period has attained a level of perfection still beyond the reach of any other form of Urdu poetry.

Among experiments in forms and technique of poetry the trend representing blank and free verse deserves special mention. The experiment was first made by Abdul Haleem Sharar, 'Ismail Mirathi and some others. Sharar also attempted some dramas in blank verse but they remained literary curiosities and did not gain popularity in Urdu. It was revived by "Progressive writers" and some others not connected with the movement. N. M. Rashid, Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Salam Machchli Shahri. Ali Sardar Jafri, Akhtarul Iman, Majaz, Jan Nisar Akhtar, Makhdum Mohiyuddin and others took a prominent part in this movement,

Other experiments in form and technique were the introduction of sonnet and stanzas. The sonnet was successfully attempted by *Akhtar Sheerani*. The sonnet was also used by writers in the progressive group. Translations from English verse brought the stanza form of which we have successful examples in the writings of *Taba Tabai's* translation of *Gray's* famous *Elegy*, which has now become almost a classic in Urdu poetry. Some translations of Japanese and Malayan poetry have also been attempted.

Experiments of translations, mainly from English, have played an important role. Urdu novel and short story, poetry and literary criticism have alike benefited from these translations. But the most important contribution of the West has been in the field of academic and scientific studies. Translation of books on social and natural sciences which started in the nineteenth century in the famous *Delhi college*. The scientific Society founded by *Sir Syed Ahmed Khan* planned work on a large scale but little interest was shown by the people and the society failed to achieve its aim. This was however revived by *Sir Syed's* eminent grandson *Sir Syed Ross Masood*. As head of the education department at *Hyderabad, Daccan*, he showed personal interest in the establishment of *Osmania University*. The university was formally established on 20 September 1918 and it was decided that the medium of teaching and examination in all subjects was to be Urdu. This was the realisation of a great ideal—the establishment of an Urdu University, dreamed by *Sir Syed Ahmed Khan*. The establishment of a university necessarily demanded production of teaching and reading material in Urdu. For this purpose a bureau of transla-

tion and compilation known as Darul Tarjuma was established. The Darul Tarjuma under state patronage and with the cooperation of all available talent did a great service and translated many books. It was unfortunate that after the occupation of Hyderabad by Indian forces, the entire plan was dislodged and ultimately Urdu was replaced by Hindi which was declared the official state and national language.

The Urdu-Hindi controversy was probably one of the greatest challenges that Urdu had to face during the period under review. The controversy started when Urdu replaced Persian as a court language in 1835. But the controversy did not assume much magnitude until after 1857. After the unsuccessful revolution of 1857 and the establishment of British rule, the Hindus launched a well-planned offensive against Urdu. Hali tells us that Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was posted at Banares when the controversy came up for consideration before the Government. The attitude of Hindus greatly disappointed Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who was for the first time convinced that Hindus and Muslim could not be united. Hindi received official recognition and patronage. The well wishers of Urdu organised protest meetings and brought out processions, but Sir Anthony McDonnell Lieutenant-Governor of U.P. was not moved. The Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-i-Urdu was founded at that time.

The controversy poisoned the relations between the Hindus and the Muslims and in its turn became more bitter with the deterioration in the relation of the two peoples.

When Congress assumed power in 1937 Urdu received a severe setback. The controversy died out. After Independence the Hindus declared Hindi to be the na-

tional language of Bharat. The treatment given to Urdu after 1947 and the difficulties under which it is struggling in India do not fall within the scope of this chapter.

SECTION II

The growth of Medieval Bengali Literature should be traced from the time of the Ilyas Shahi Sultans of Gour. Prior to this there was no peace in the area due to serious political upheavals. For over a period of nearly hundred years, literary activities, if at all there were any, were negligible. No names of poets have been preserved in the history of Bengali Literature. The literary tradition of the court of Gour in Bengali continued till 1700. Specimens from the writings of Shah Muhammad Saghir (fourteenth century), Zainuddin (fifteenth century), Sayyid Sultan (sixteenth century) and Sayyid 'Alawal (seventeenth century) show that their writings had considerable Sanskrit influences. They wrote in Sanskritised Bengali. But when Murshidabad became the capital of Bengal, Persian and Urdu words gradually took the place of Sanskrit in speech.

In poetry this mixed Bengali was used unhesitatingly. Thus grew up a type of literature, known in literary history as Puthi Literature. The current spelling of the word is 'Punthi', the correct form is actually 'Puthi' as it is derived from the Sanskrit 'Pustaka' which has no nasalisation.

With the death of Bharat Chandra in 1760, the medieval period in Bengali Literature came to a close. His death also marks the end of the courtly phase in the literary history of Bengal. The period between the death of Bharat Chandra and the emergence of Iswar Gupta

is an interragnum during which little was written in the courtly and elegant style of which Bharat Chandra had been an exponent. The century that ended with the death of Iswar Gupta in 1858 was characterized by far-reaching changes in the political, economic, educational and cultural life of Bengal; and the writers were hard put to it to maintain the continuity of the cultural traditions in the face of these vicissitudes. They stood outside the current of Western thought and ideas which was sweeping the area at this period, and the tradition they represented was kept alive by popular support.

Two clearly different trends are thus noticeable, one represented by the popular tradition to which we have referred; the other, resulting from the impact of European ideas on Bengali society. Modern Bengali prose was the creation of writers belonging to the second group and the main achievement of the traditionalists was Puthis and Kavigan.

The Battle of Plassey in 1757 marks the formal beginning of English rule, but it took the British a long time to restore peace and tranquillity. In 1765 the East India Company were granted complete fiscal rights by the Mughul Emperor but this did not end the disorders. Economic conditions deteriorated further to an extent unconceivable before in consequence of the terrible famine of 1769-70. Nearly two thirds of the aristocracy of lower Bengali were, in the opinion of Sir William Hunter, completely ruined by this disaster. No literary or cultural activity was possible under such conditions. Whatever therefore was done in the literary sphere in spite of the difficulties mentioned deserve to be remembered.

Puthis may be defined as long narrative poems written in an artificial style on subjects drawn from myths, legends and classical epics. This definition applies to all Puthis except a few which are not narrative in character can be described as versified discourse on theological subjects. Kavigan on the other hand is the recorded text of extemporizations in verse on topical subjects or on traditional love-themes. Such extemporizations were a feature of the poetical contests which used to be held regularly all over Bengal.

Puthi and Kavigan are alike immature from a literary point of view, but they both reflect the fading glow of the old cultural tradition.

Because of the presence of a large proportion of Arabic and Persian words in their language, Puthis are often termed 'dobhashi' or bi-lingual. This literature flourished chiefly in Calcutta and the suburban areas. It had no direct connection with rural life. It catered mainly for the mixed population of the town consisting of diverse elements drawn from different parts of India—soldiers, traders and ordinary travellers. The mixed language used in Puthis as well as their subject matter which was romantic stories, reinforce this theory.

Arabic and Persian words started to come into the language with the advent of Muslim rule in Bengal. By time the Puthis were being written, this mixed language had in all probability become the standard speech of the people. Support for this view is found in the writings of the eighteenth-century poet, Bharat Chandra and also in Mr. Hallhead's introduction to his Bengali grammar, Bharat Chandra defended the use of Arabic and Persian words in his *Annada Mangal* by saying that to leave these (Arabic and Persian words) out would be to rob

the Language of all grace and sweetness. Hallhead wrote in 1778 that those people alone could be said to command a chaste style who mixed Arabic and Persian substantive with Indian verbs. In support of his theory he quoted more than one letter written by Hindus of the time.

As the new Bengali prose developed under the patronage of the Missionaries of the Srirampore Mission and the teachers of the Fort William College, the Puthi style became more and more out-moded. Eventually the tradition represented by the Puthis became a minor literary current isolated from the main stream of Bengali literature. The main reason why this style did not survive even in poetry is that its adherents could not march in step with the rapid changes in the outlook that were taking place as a result of the infiltration of Western ideas.

It is difficult to estimate correctly the number of Puthis that have been written since the eighteenth century; several thousand are believed to have been produced during the nineteenth. Most of these are devoid of literary merit. It is to the eighteenth century that the two outstanding Puthi-writers, Gharibullah and Syed Hamza, belong.

They jointly wrote a voluminous narrative poem entitled Amir Hamza. Typical of a whole class of Puthis this poem narrated the legendary exploits of one of the uncles of the Prophet of Islam. It is based on an Urdu original of unknown authorship. Another favourite subject with Puthi writers was the tragedy of Kerbala; Gharibullah's Jang Namah is one of the best relating to this theme. Gharibullah is also the author of Satya Pirar Puthi, an account of a legendary saint venerated by Hindus and Muslims alike. Yusuf Zuleikha, another

Puthi known to have been written by Gharibullah, deals with the romance of Joseph and Potiphar's wife.

Of the two poets, Syed Hamza was definitely the better artist. His similes have an unmistakeable epic grandeur and his language an elegance seldom surpassed. There are portions in the *Modhumalati*, a love romance,—which as love poems are some of the best in Bengali literature. The best example of Syed Hamza's skill as a narrator in verse is *Hatim Tai*; renowned for his munificence in Arabian legend. Hamza like the Greek historian Herodotus, weaves into the main body of his narrative numerous anecdotes, all of which add to the interest of his poems. There are chapters which one would be tempted at first glance to consider irrelevant digressions, but which seen in the perspective of the whole design, appear to dovetail beautifully into the story's architecture. Hamza is noted not only for his gifts as a story-teller but also for his characterisation. It is he more than anybody else who has firmly impressed the figures of *Tai* and his associates upon the imagination of the East Bengal people.

Puthis and *Kavigan* are unlikely to produce anything in future which may rival in interest the works of Hamza and Gharibullah. Their merit can be judged from the very fact that they are still alive, in spite of the many changes that the literary scene in East Bengal has undergone.

Aspects of East Pakistan Folklore

It is not possible for an East Pakistani of today to understand the reality underlying the unsophisticated beauty and charm of folk melody though he may be moved by it as he is moved by many other sentimental things of life. This is because our present-day world is town-

centred and sophistication has become the key-note of our culture. The genuine folklore of East Pakistan is the product of the Middle Ages of Bengali literature when poetry was the product of community living unperturbed in a world of economic well-being and mythological inheritance. This leaves out of consideration the so-called folk-songs and folk-tales of East Pakistan which are of comparatively recent growth and show signs of contact with urban life. 'Gunai Bibi' for example, is actually a modern tale told by villagers but villagers who have been to towns, like Barisal and Dacca. It is in the form of a ballad. Without going into the controversy as to whether the words of such ballads were invented by individuals for the community, or whether these grew spontaneously in the community, we can say that they were sung by 'Gayens' at social gatherings and at midnight concourses of village folk. They were handed down from generation to generation. Their common characteristics can be illustrated by an example, 'Kajal Rekha'. It depicts the story of a poor girl destined to marry a prince who was covered with needles all over his body. He could not even open his eyes. Kajal Rekha plucks out the needles one after another, but before plucking out the two needles of the eyes she wanted to refresh herself by taking a dip in the river. While still in water, she saw a girl passing by the bank whom she buys as her slave with her gold bracelets. She instructs the slave-girl to go to the temple where her husband was lying in bed with needles in his eyes. The slave-girl goes near the prince, plucks out the needles from his eyes and deceived him by declaring herself his wife and Kajal Rekha as the slave-girl. Kajal Rekha passes her days in agony and after various interesting

trials which both the girls undergo, she ultimately regains her position and the mischievous slave-girl is buried alive.

Kajal Rekha is a true ballad so far as it is anonymous and has been handed down for centuries orally. There is a directness of narrative without any comment, criticism or probing into motives. There is a definiteness of the details. This definiteness is striking characteristic of the East Pakistani ballads; note, for example, that the slave-girl plucks out from the eyes of the prince, not several, but two needles.

Unlike the Scottish ballads, the supernatural element does not play an important role in the East Pakistan ballads.

In 'Mahua', 'Dewan Bhabana', 'Kamal' and 'Diwana Medina' there is a deep strain of tragedy. There is also an extreme simplicity in the mechanism of verse; the verse is not artificial and the rhythms are instinctive.

These characteristics of the East Pakistan Ballads are a direct reflection of the social environment within which this poetry was shaped.

Northern Mymensingh differs from other parts of East Bengal in its rugged physical contours. Some of the ballads of Mymensingh express this ruggedness through superstition and gloom as well as love for stories of courage and adventure.

East Pakistani folklore includes within its fold all kinds of folk-songs, folk-tales, superstitions local legends, proverbs, riddles and nursery rhymes. Riddles are probably the oldest literary improvisation of the people. There is a beautiful riddle in "Chandi Mangal" of Kabikankan.

"While alive he is silent, but clamorous when dead;
God has not given any skin as his coating:—

But we want his assistance for sounding good
omens". The answer is "conch shell".

Nazrul Islam

Before assessing the merit of Nazrul Islam as a poet, it will be better to analyse the pattern of changes in the socio-political life of Bengal brought about by the First World War with the consequent impact on literary trends. In the early stages of the War German secured imminent victories stirred the mind of the youth in an un-precedented manner. It raised a strong hope in their minds that the War would bring freedom. They hoped for a revolution to liberate their country. Surreptitious preparations were made to carry on terrorist activities. The Russian Revolution of 1917 provided a filip to such tendencies. It was at this time that a Bengali young man, Muzaffar Ahmed, who had been directly involved in the Russian revolution, returned to set-up the first branch of the Communist party in the subcontinent. Soon he established contacts with the terrorist and revolutionary movements of all kinds. He was a person of literary inclinations; Nazrul Islam had close relations with him. There was another factor in turning Muslim sentiment against the British at this time. Turkey, which was on the side of Germany in the war, lay prostrate in defeat and the treatment meted out to her adversely affected her chances of regeneration. This produced a chorus of protests in the subcontinent. In fact, few would have such a vast number of poems of topical interest. He wrote poetry, produced public city material and conducted a newspaper all at the

same time. Even when he condescended to compose love poems, the inroad of journalism is unmistakeable.

Nazrul joined the British Army and got ready to leave for the theatre of war. But while he was in Karachi, awaiting despatch, the Armistice was signed and he had to return. He had enlisted in the hope that military training would train him for a revolution to overthrow the British. His rebellious feelings found vent in his famous Poem "The Rebel". He emphasized that destruction was a necessary prelude to reconstruction. This Poem established Nazrul as a Bengali Poet and found for him a niche in Bengali literature. That Nazrul is dynamic and restless in his soul becomes quite obvious from this poem.

It can, therefore, be said that Nazrul Islam presented the first exception to the otherwise traditional and placed flow of Bengali poetry. There is no link whatever between the pleasantly quiet trend made fashionable by Rabindranath and Nazrul's poetry. It is true that Nazrul lacks balance in his emotions. He is not sufficiently introspective to feel life deeply. However, he possesses a fervour and emotional intenseness that is all aflame. His "Agni Bina" and "Bisher Bosshey" are the songs of the ultimate victory of the suffering subject people over the hold of foreign rulers. These sentiments accorded well with the revolt of Bengal. Nazrul Islam, therefore, found easy acceptance.

Jasimuddin

Another poet who deserves special mention is Jasimuddin.

Jasimuddin introduced yet another trend in Bengali poetry; he draws inspiration from folk culture. Rural life

and environment provided the material for his composition resulting in the manifestation of a definite rural bias in his work. But this does not make him a rural poet in the fullest sense of the term, because he exhibits a strong evidence of artifice in his use of metaphors and smiles. He uses fiction as a frame for his poetic expression. Jasimuddin gained recognition with his poem "Kabar", though it lacks emotion or a bold philosophy of life. Yet it is effective because with letting simplicity it depicts the tragic settings of a rural home. Jasimuddin uses simple and forceful images and metaphors.

His 'Matir Kanna' was published after independence. It is not so successful, because the poet seems to have been affected by the restlessness of city life.

The State of Bengali Poetry during the pre-Pakistan period

Nazrul Islam brought social consciousness into modern Bengali poetry. His poems like, 'Coolie' 'Labourer', 'Humanity', embody strong faith in the ultimate victory of the down-trodden. But Nazrul is not so much motivated by sympathy for the poor as by his revolutionary ardour. However, the common man found a place in the aristocratic Bengali literature through Nazrul; hitherto he had featured only in folk ballads. It is interesting to note that Rabindranath Tagore, towards the end of his life, also displayed a sense of social consciousness in some of his poems. After the first world war, there was a reaction against the trends crystallised in Tagore.

We may take the point of departure as the period between 1918 and 1938. Nazrul Islam is a poet of essentially this period.

Influence of Iqbal on Modern Bengali Poetry

How can we assess the influence of a poet of one language on the poetry of another language, so different as Bengali is from Urdu in feeling and outlook? However where the emphasis is on the content and especially if that content is conveyed in a direct and simple manner, its transference to another language loses much of its normal difficulty. But if the thought pattern is subtle, complex and unfamiliar, as was of Hafiz to Krishna Chandra Mazumdar, in his translation into Bengali, the result is disappointing. Iqbal also suffered in the same way in the hands of his Bengali translators. For instance some Bengali poets, translated the words of 'Shikwah' into Bengali, rigidly following the metrical pattern of the original poem. The results were colourless and inadequate. Only Ashraf 'Ali Khan achieved success in rendering 'Shikwah' into Bengali verse. He actually wrote a poem of his own following only the contours of the original poem. In him we get a rendering without deformity. Ashraf 'Ali Khan succeeded partly because Nazrul Islam had established a style which was capable of dealing with the thought content of 'Shikwah'. In his 'Kankal' or 'Skeleton', Ashraf 'Ali Khan was greatly influenced by Iqbal's courage in questioning the validity of the prevailing view.

Other translators of Iqbal's 'Shikwah' who came after Ashraf 'Ali Khan were moved by Iqbal's piety and philosophic depth. They succeeded only in perpetuating tedious and dull verse against the very spirit of Bengali. Dr. Shahidullah's translation can be cited as an example. Besides Muhammad Shahidullah, other translators of

'Shikwah' are Muhammad Sultan, Amiruddin Ahmad and Mizanur Rahman.

The main reasons for the popularity of Iqbal in Bengal were religious and political. His leadership was acclaimed when he clearly stated that Muslims were different from the Hindus.

Iqbal's ideas ultimately gave rise to the Pakistan movement, and in Bengal to a significant literary movement also. After the adoption of the Lahore Resolution by the Muslim League in 1940, Muslim poets and writers of Bengal, specially in Calcutta and Dacca met at two conferences and resolved to create a new Bengali literature compatible with Islamic ideology but deeply rooted in the soil. In poetry three influences came into evidence, firstly, Islamic history; secondly, the Islamic faith, and thirdly, the unsophisticated folk tradition of rural Bengal. Iqbal's influence was noticeable in the first two. Here the influence was strongly ideological and not technical.

There was a strong Islamic feeling in Bengali poetry in the Middle ages, but that influence had eclipsed. Iqbal's influence revived it and also brought about a change in approach. Syyid Sultan, the sixteenth century poet threw light on Islamic theology in his 'Jnan-Choutisha'. The seventeenth century poet, Alaol was an authority on Sufism, the evidence of which can significantly be found in his translation of "Tohfa". The eighteenth century poet 'Ali Raza had demonstrated a very deep insight into the spiritual aspect of life. In other words, the germination of Islamic philosophy and its development had taken place in Bengali poetry much earlier. But it had lacked subtlety and refinement.

It had failed to be clothed in poetic emotion. There is no indication of self-analysis, nor is there an understanding of the natural phenomena. The literary luminaries of the nineteenth century and of the following period, such as Mir Musharraf Hussain, Muzammil-ul-Haq, Kaikobad and Ismail Hussain Shirazi, alike lack these features. Nazrul Islam, at a much later period, was the first to prove that the history of Islam was not merely a store house of inspiring events but also a nursery of feelings and dreams, opening the doors of beauty and inspiration. Nazrul Islam's poetry, however, lacked the true motivation of Islamic belief and philosophy. Iqbal gave a true understanding of their dynamic and revolutionary significance.

In 1942-43 two literary societies 'Purba Pakistan Renaissance Society' and 'Purba Pakistan Sahitya Sansad' attempted to give a new direction to Muslim literary ventures. The eagerness and single-hearted devotion of Abul Kalam Shamsuddin (Editor, "Azad") provided vitality to this movement. Farrukh Ahmad and the present writer entered the poetical arena about this time. Farrukh Ahmad tried to follow closely the ideals of Iqbal. To him, the most valuable thing is the Islam of the early period. Perhaps today there is antagonism between the environment and the poet but in those pioneering days this conflict did not exist. His ideals were the establishment of a universal Islamic fraternity, an Islamic state and Islamic social order and, above all, the Caliphate.

There are others who believe in the importance of the philosophy and thought content of Iqbal's poetry. To them nothing else matters. Words are to convey ideas and their magic through imagery and rhythm is not so

important. Specially in a poet like Iqbal, they hold, one should be moved by philosophy and religious ardour. Ghulam Mustafa may be considered the leader of this group. There are others in this field, such as, A. F. M. Abdul Huq, Kazi Akram Hussain and Syed Abdul Mannan. In their rendering of Iqbal we do not get projections of the poet's sense-impressions, they are more interested in objective reality. This is not a full comprehension of Iqbal's inner most experiences which, we hope will come only with continued intimacy.

CHAPTER XVIII

'ALLAMAH IQBAL

Iqbal is generally known as a great poet, but when we actually scan his career the versatility of his genius simply staggers our imagination. He was not only a great poet—one of the greatest the world has known—but also a great philosopher. He was at home in Eastern as well as Western philosophy. He pointed out defects in the philosophical systems of such thinkers as Nietzsche, Bergson and MacTaggart. He was a religious thinker and can be classed with such Muslim reformers as Shah Waliullah, Jamaluddin Afghani and Mohammad Abduh of Egypt. He was an active politician and fought courageously not only against the ruling power and the majority community, but also against reactionary politicians amongst his own people. As an educationist he taught English literature and Philosophy in Lahore and Arabic literature in London, and always maintained his interest in education. He can be truly regarded as one of those natural forces that shape the destiny of mankind. He realised the fundamental truth that man's personality can endure and develop only in an atmosphere of freedom, and it was in preaching this fundamental truth that his greatness lay.

Iqbal was born at Sialkot, now in West Pakistan, on 22 February, 1873. He finished his early education in Sialkot, and went to Lahore in 1895 for higher studies. In Sialkot he was fortunate in having as his teacher Shams-ul 'Ulama Mir Hasan, a great scholar, who recognising

Iqbal's capabilities encouraged him in every possible way. At Lahore Iqbal joined the Government College, and came under the influence of Sir Thomas Arnold, a great Orientalist and a profound student of philosophy. After taking his M.A. in 1899 Iqbal joined the staff of the Oriental College, Lahore as Mcleod Reader in Arabic. On the advice of Sir Arnold, he left for England for higher studies in 1905. He joined the Trinity College, Cambridge, and took his degree in 1907 by submitting a thesis. At the same time he had himself enrolled as a member of the Lincoln's Inn and was called to the Bar in July 1908. He took his Ph.D. from the University of Munich (Germany) in 1908; his thesis was on the Development of Metaphysics in Persia.

On his return to the subcontinent he started practising law in Lahore; after sometime he was also appointed a part time professor in his *alma mater*, the Government College.

Apart from writing poems his career was uneventful at this time, although he had started taking interest in the politics of the province. In 1926 he was elected to the Punjab Legislative Council, and sat there till 1929, he did not seek re-election. In 1930 he was elected President of the historic session of the All-India Muslim-League held in Allahabad, and it was on this occasion that he made a definite suggestion regarding the creation of a Muslim State on the subcontinent. During the course of his address Iqbal said:—

“Communalism in its higher aspect, then, is indispensable to the formation of a harmonious whole in a country like India. The units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speak-

ing different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race-consciousness. Even the Hindus do not form a homogenous group. The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified. The resolution of the All-Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi, is, to my mind, wholly inspired by this noble ideal of a harmonious whole which, instead of stifling the respective individualities of its component wholes, affords them chances of fully working out the possibilities that may be latent in them. And I have no doubt that this House will emphatically endorse the Muslim demands embodied in this resolution. Personally, I would go further than the demands embodied on it. I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-Government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India. The proposal was put forward before the Nehru Committee. They rejected it on the ground that, if carried into effect, it would give a very unwieldy State. This is true in so far as the area is concerned; in point of population the State contemplated by the proposal would be much less than some of the present Indian provinces. The exclusion of Ambala Division, and perhaps of some districts where non-Muslims predominate, will make it less extensive and more Muslim in population, so that the exclusion suggested will enable this consolidated State to give a more effective protection to non-Muslim

minorities within its area. The idea need not alarm the Hindus or the British. India is the greatest Muslim country in the world. The life of Islam as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralisation in a specified territory.....“Nor should the Hindus fear that the creation of autonomous Muslim States will mean the introduction of a kind of religious rule in such States. I have already indicated to you the meaning of the world religion as applied to Islam. The truth is that Islam is not a church. It is a State, conceived as contractual organism long before Rousseau ever thought of such a thing, and animated by an ethical ideal which regards man not as an earth-rooted creature, defined by this or that portion of the earth but as a spiritual being understood in terms of social mechanism, and possessing rights and duties as a living factor in that mechanism. The charter of a Muslim State can be judged from what the ‘Times of India’ pointed out some time ago in a leader on the Indian Banking Enquiry Committee. ‘In ancient India’, the paper points out ‘the State framed laws regulating the rates of interests, but in Muslim times, although Islam clearly forbids the realization of interest on money loaned, Indian Muslim State imposed no restrictions on such rates’. I therefore demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interests of India and Islam. For India it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power; for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize its law, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times”.

It was considered necessary to give these lengthy extracts from his presidential address to show the ideals which inspired Iqbal, when he proposed in his speech a division of the sub-continent as the only solution of the numerous problems facing it.

In 1931-32 Iqbal attended the Second and Third Round Table Conferences which were called by the British Government in London to frame a constitution for the subcontinent. In 1932 he was called to preside over the deliberations of the Muslim Conference held in Lahore. In his address to the Conference Iqbal said: "I am opposed to nationalism as it is understood in Europe, not because, if it is allowed to develop in India, it is likely to bring less material gain to Muslims. I am opposed to it because I see in it the germs of atheistic materialism which I look upon as the greatest danger to humanity. Patriotism is a perfectly natural virtue and has a place in the moral life of man. Yet that which really matters is a man's faith, his culture, his historical traditions".

Iqbal did not attain great distinction as a practising lawyer, but he commanded great respect for the profoundness of his legal knowledge. His health however began to deteriorate, and in 1935 he suffered loss of voice, and so had to give up the profession of law. But he continued writing poetry, through which he exercised a great influence over the Muslim intelligentsia in the subcontinent. In the midst of confusion and uncertainty that characterised the Muslim politics at this time he stood firm like a rock in his support to the cause of the League, and remained President of its Panjab branch nearly till his death.

Iqbal developed kidney trouble in 1924. He wanted to proceed to Vienna for its treatment, but he was advised to consult a famous physician in Delhi, popularly known as Hakim Nabina. His treatment cured Iqbal of this trouble, and till 1934 he was in fairly good health. But in that year he had heart trouble, and his illness took a serious turn on 25 March, 1938. In spite of the best medical treatment available and careful nursing he breathed his last in the early hours of 21 April, 1938. Although his illness was long and protracted the end was sudden and peaceful. On his death bed Iqbal was a picture of peace and composure. It seemed as if he was merely resting after finishing his life's work. There was a faint smile playing on his lips and looking at him one was irresistably reminded of his well known verse, in which he says that a true believer is found smiling at the time of his death. He was given a funeral which kings might envy, and was buried near the gate of the historic Shahi Mosque in Lahore late in the evening.

Iqbal started writing poetry while still a student in Sialkot; his teacher, Maulana Mir Hasan, encouraged him in this. At this time *Dagh* (1831-1905) was recognized as the leading Urdu poet of the subcontinent, Iqbal started sending his poems to him for correction. After a short time *Dagh* wrote back that Iqbal's poems did not need any corrections. When Iqbal moved to Lahore he found its atmosphere very congenial for his poetical compositions; gatherings in which poets recited their compositions were held regularly; Iqbal visited some of these especially in *Bazar-i-Hakiman*. In Lahore, Iqbal also came into contact with Sir Abdul Qadir, a well-known literary figure of the subcontinent and wrote poems for his Urdu journal *Makhzan*.

During his stay in England he could not devote much time to writing poetry, but on his return to the subcontinent he wrote some of his greatest poems, notably *Shikwah* and *Jawab-i-Shikwah*. The most famous of his Persian poems of the period however were *Asrar-i-Khudi* (1915), *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* (1918) and the *Payam-i-Mashriq* (1923), a collection of miscellaneous pieces written in reply to Goethe's *Divan*. In 1924 he published a collection of Urdu poems known as *Bang i-Dira*, this was followed two years later by *Zabur-i-Ajam* (Persian Psalms). After that appeared the *Jawid Namah* which can be regarded as Iqbal's *magnum opus*. It is really an Oriental Divine Comedy, in which Iqbal has dealt beautifully with the problems that face mankind. The poem ranks among the classics of the world. After finishing *Jawid Namah* Iqbal turned to Urdu again and published the *Bal-i-Jibrail* in 1935; this was followed by *Zarb-i-Kalim* in 1936.

In 1934 he had published a Persian poem, *Musafir*, describing his journey to Kabul and Afghanistan. Another Persian poem *Pas chi bayad kard*, appeared in 1936. This brought a message of hope to countries and nations still under the domination of colonial powers. The final collection of his poems containing his Urdu as well as Persian compositions, *Aramughan-i-Hijaz*, appeared posthumously.

Iqbal wrote his poems in two languages, Persian and Urdu, and was actually planning to write a prose poem in English when death snatched him away from us. There is no branch of poetry, except drama, that he did not write in Urdu and Persian. He wrote lyric, philosophic, epic, metaphysical descriptive and satiric poetry. In each branch his work will stand comparison

with that of the world's greatest poets. It is obvious that this wide range of poetry needs wide and varied sensibility, not met with even in the greatest poets of the world. And it is unnecessary to emphasise the difficulties which beset one trying to survey the art of such a versatile genius. It is not intended to survey here his entire poetical work critically; all that will be attempted would be an enumeration of the chief characteristics of the main kinds of poetry left by him.

Iqbal started his poetical career by writing lyrical poetry in the form of *ghazals*. Owing to the elementary human emotions with which it deals the appeal of lyric poetry is universal. The magical cadence and musical ecstasy of Iqbal's lyrics have made them very popular. He clothes our simple experiences of life with passionate ardour and communicates it through moving and vivid imagery. With supreme artistry he brings even the abstruse notions of philosophy and religion out of their academic isolation. Two things are essential for a perfect lyric—an emotion of great intensity and depth and corresponding mastery over language to give it a fitting utterance. Iqbal describes in his lyrics his own passionate experiences which are characterised by great intensity, and his command over language is superb. In fact he chooses those words and notes which serve to enlarge the melody and rhythm of his poetry.

Iqbal's lyrics are characterized by a deep mysticism as well as symbolism. Mysticism is the soul of Urdu and Persian poetry and adds greatly to its charm. There are, however, two different trends in Islamic mysticism. These can best be described as mysticism of infinity and mysticism of personality. The former is represented in the writings of Plotinus, in the Upanashidas and in Sufi

doctrine of *wahdatul wujud*. Here the *Numen* is the Being beyond all being, the Infinite, the time and spaceless and is symbolised as the boundless ocean in which humand beings long to merge as drops in the sea. It is obvious that this type of mysticism seems to deny the reality of human personality on which Iqbal insists. But in the mysticism of personality the relation between man and God is seen as that of the creature and the creator, or of the lover and the beloved, and man's personality, although finite is real. Man does not lose his individuality even after death. It is this Mysticism of personality that we meet in early Sufism and also in Iqbal. Out of the many emotions of which Iqbal sings in his lyrics, the place of honour goes to love. Great emphasis is laid on the part love plays in the development of human personality and character, and the term is used by him in a very wide sense.

Iqbal's poetic genius was so comprehensive that even in the field of lyric poetry he displayed great versatility. He could write poems which are great because of their spontaniety; but he could also write poems whose perfection lies in their art. Yet again he could write poems in which both spontaniety and artistry seem to function harmoniously and intensely. This combination makes Iqbal one of the most eminent lyric poets of the world, he ranks with Hafiz, Ghalib, Ronsard, Burns and Shelley.

Iqbal spent his childhood in Sialkot, a town along the foothills of the outer Himalayas. Amongst these beautiful surroundings he developed early a love of nature which inspired some great poems throughout his life, and one of his early poems was on the Himalayas, which he had then seen only from a distance. His poems

depicting natural sources remind us of the finest poetry of Wordsworth. In the beginning Iqbal looked upon all nature as the manifestation of a single life force or God, but later his ideas underwent a considerable change. He began to regard each object as a distinct personality.

Iqbal wrote some incisive satires which are characterised by a smoothness of verse, lucidity of style, and urbanity of manner. Iqbal has left a large number of satires which are all free from harshness and vulgarity. All evil practices and vices in the name of religion shake Iqbal to his very soul, and it is generally then that he bursts out into satires. It may be said of all his satires that whereas Dryden makes his victims look ludicrous by associating them with the heroes of epic grandeur, and Pope reduces them to the level of worthless vermin, Iqbal like Byron simply depicts them as they are.

No study of Iqbal's poetry can be complete without a reference to his long poems, most of them written in the form of *mathnawis*. There are critics who maintain that a long poem is a contradiction in terms, because according to them poetry is essentially the language of excitement, and as excitement is always of a brief duration there can no such thing as a long poem. Though it contains an element of truth, yet this is an extreme view and is partially based on a misunderstanding of the true nature of poetry. While the universal appeal of short poems, can not be denied, it must be admitted that long poems, by giving the poet an opportunity for sustained effort, provide a truer test of his art. While it will be wrong to say that the excellence of a poem depends upon its length, it can safely be said that long poem can be successfully composed only by a great poet. Amongst important *mathnawis* of Iqbal may be mentioned:

*Asrar-i-Khudi, Rumuz-i-Bekhuri, Gulshan-i-Raz
Jadid and Jawid Namah.*

The first two can be classified as metaphysical, and the third as philosophical. *Jawid Namah* is an epic poem. Many students of Iqbal have classified *Asrar* and *Rumuz* also as philosophical poems. The *Asrar* describes fundamental principles affecting the development of human personality. The poem attracted world-wide attention after its translation in English by Professor Nicholson. In his introduction to the translation Professor Nicholson remarks:

"The artistic quality of the poem is remarkable when we consider that its language is not author's own. I have tried to preserve as much of this as a literal translation would allow. Many passages of the original are poetry of the kind that once read, is not easily forgotten."

In the *Rumuz*, Iqbal has described the basic principles on which the organisation of ideal human society should be based. An English translation of the poem by Professor A. J. Arberry, has been published.

Gulshan-i-Raz Jadid deals with abstruse mystical problems; the poet sets himself nine questions, and then answers them. In spite of the philosophical character of the poem its poetic quality is superb.

The *Jawid Namah*, as has been remarked above, is an Oriental Divine Comedy; Iqbal visits the various planets and even the Empyrean and trans-Heaven. In fact both Dante and Iqbal, through the allegory of a vision attempted to depict the destiny of the human soul. Recent researches have established it beyond all doubts that Dante was mainly indebted to Muslim sources for the original conception of his poem. Dante's

poem is divided into three parts, dealing with Inferno, Purgatorio and Paradiso. In Paradiso Dante visited the seven spheres, the Heaven of Fixed Stars, Primum Mobile and the Empyrean. Iqbal does not visit the Inferno and the Purgatorio, and instead of seven planets he visits only six. Then he does not visit the Fixed Stars and the Primum Mobile, but visits the Empyrean. It took Dante ten years to write the Divine Comedy which contains 14,000 lines, while Iqbal wrote the *Jawid Namah* in three years with 4,000 lines. Thus it will be seen that Iqbal has worked on a smaller canvas than Dante; but both have produced great masterpieces which will continue to delight humanity for ages to come. The *Divine Comedy* is the great epic of mediaeval Catholicism as *Jawid Namah* is an epic dealing with the order that Islam contemplates.

In *Jawid Namah*, Iqbal accompanied by Rumi, who is to him what Virgil is to Dante, visits the planets and meets historical personalities who in their dialogues illustrate eternal truths. The poet first visits the Moon. Here Rumi introduces Iqbal to a Hindu sage known as Jahan Dost. Rumi tells Jahan Dost that for mankind the way to progress lies through the synthesis of Eastern and Western cultures; unfortunately East has been concentrating on the spiritual and neglecting the material, while West has been concentrating on the material and neglecting the spiritual.¹

From the Moon the poet, with his guide, is transported to the sphere of Mercury. Here he meets

¹ For instance:

شرق حق را دید و عالم را نه دید - عرب در عالم خیزد، از حق رمید

[The East saw God and failed to see the world of matter; the West got embroiled in the world and neglected God.]

Jamaluddin Afghani and Said Halim Pasha, the two persons who played an effective role in Eastern affairs in the nineteenth century. Rumi tells the poet that the East has not produced greater persons than these two and introduces Iqbal as Zinda Rood or the Living River, a name that the poet uses throughout the poem. While the poet describes the mistakes which Eastern nations especially the Turks, the Persians and the Arabs are making in aping Western manners and methods without discrimination, Afghani explains Communism and Imperialism pointing out the defects of the two. Said Halim Pasha compares the East and the West and emphasises the fact that the salvation of mankind lies in the synthesis of Eastern and Western cultures.

Later on Afghani elucidates the basis of the world order according to the *Qur'an*. In this order no distinctions of colour and race are recognised, and the basis of culture is provided by respect for mankind and a study of Nature. Women here live simple lives and the vices of the modern world are unknown, and great importance is attached to spiritual values. Afghani then exhorts the poet to communicate to the Russian people the message in which he compares Islam with Communism. While there is much in common between Islam and communism, Islam suffers from the fact that its adherents do little more than lip service to its life-giving tenets and never try to apply its doctrines in actual life. On the other hand Communism is entangled in materialism and attaches no importance to spiritual values. If Communism recognises the spiritual basis of life and faith in God it will be rid of all its defects which are holding up the progress of humanity.

From Mercury the poets are transported to Venus where they visit the abode of ancient gods. These gods are happy that religion and faith are losing ground before the dark forces of materialism and irreligiousness.

From Venus the poets are taken to Mars where they meet an astronomer. Iqbal finds here that although the people living on Mars surpass the Western nations in the study of sciences and arts, the materialistic tendencies of modern Europe characterised by a loss of faith in God, are not noticeable. The sage of Mars tells the poet that they had their Adam in Barkhiya whom their Satan, locally known as Farzmurz, tried to mislead but Barkhiya, through faith, was able to resist the guiles of the Principle of Evil and so the Almighty in His Munificence bestowed on the people the world of Mars. The capital of Mars is Marghdin, and the poet describes in beautiful language this city. Here one finds no coinage, no machines, no demonstrations of militarism and no false propaganda. All labourers enjoy the fullest benefit of their labour and the defects which characterise capitalism in our world are not known. Before leaving Mars the poet meets the virgin from Europe brought to Mars by Farzmurz to create trouble. This woman exhorts the women of the planet to defy men and not to submit to them either in the form of matrimony or otherwise.

The poet is then taken to Jupiter where he meets some very interesting personalities—the Indian poet Ghalib, the Persian poetess Tahirah, and the mystic Mansur Hallaj; and while the poet is engaged in conversation with these Satan appears on the scene. While the poet's talks with all these persons are very interesting and significant, his discourse with Satan

elucidates the principle of evil in the life of man. The description of Satan's character is attempted by the poet in several poems, but it is beautifully amplified in *Jawid Namah*. He is proud and vain, for instance when he takes credit for helping in the development of man by raising him from a position of servility to one of freedom. He complains to God about the weak nature of man, who falls such an easy prey to his guile. He wants a strong adversary so as to be able to measure his strength.

From Jupiter the poet is transported to Saturn where he meets traitors who have betrayed their own peoples and masters—Mir Jafar of Bengal and Sadiq of Deccan. The two traitors give a description of their pitiable condition in pathetic terms. Even hell did not want to pollute its scorching flames with the bodies of such ignoble creatures.

After Saturn the poet reaches the trans-Heaven region or the Emyrean where he meets the German philosopher, Neitzsche, who tried all his life to grasp Godhood, but failed, because he relied mainly on intellect. After meeting Neitzsche he goes to Paradise—a world without any directions and without day and night. Here he meets Sharfun Nisa, the daughter of Abdus Samad, Govenor of the Punjab. Sharfun Nisa represents ideal womanhood. Later on he meets Syed 'Ali Hamadani, a saint from Kashmir and Tahir Ghani, a poet from the same region. Ghani sadly refers to the sale of Kashmir by the British to Gulab Singh.

The poet meets the Hindu poet Bhartarihari and three Eastern potentates, Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Abdali and Tipu Sultan. Abdali refers to the growing

tendencies in Eastern countries to adopt Western methods of living and points out that this is not necessary for progress.

The poet then leaves the Highest Paradise, but before he leaves the Houris request him to recite a few lines, which he does. Finally the poet sees an Illumination of Divine Glory and says that the world is full of so many imperfections and iniquities that its creation hardly becomes the Almighty. A reply from the Almighty suggests that the imperfections exist because man does not use his creative genius.

Finally Iqbal requests the Almighty to reveal to him the destiny of nations. This led to a Vision in which Divine Grace and Beauty prevailed all and His Glory illumined the poet's soul.

It will be seen that *Jawid Namah* is a great poem. It is not possible to attempt a critical survey of the poem here, but some of its outstanding features deserve mention. The most noticeable feature is the marvellous variety of effect produced by the introduction of lyrical interludes, these lyrical interludes provide variety in rhythm and style at intervals. The second characteristic is the complete absence of any conscious and laboured effect. The poet strikes a lofty note without any effort. There is no doubt that the poem is one of the classics of the world. It has already been translated in German, Italian and English, and it is hoped that translations, in other leading languages of the world will follow.

This brief survey of Iqbal's poetry will show that all those who turn to it will find in it real wealth of thought and beauty of art. The secret of this great artistry is a combination of classicism and romanticism. Iqbal started as a classicist, but soon romanticism at-

tracted him. And we see in Iqbal that balanced combination of classicism and romanticism which only a genius like his or Goethe's could achieve.

While dealing with his poetic art we have also referred to Iqbal's philosophy. In his conception of art Iqbal is a functionalist and believes that the principle of all art is life itself. His philosophy of life is artistically enshrined in his poetry. Professor Nicholson says about Iqbal: "During his stay in the West he studied modern philosophy, in which subject he holds degrees from the university of Cambridge and Munich. His dissertation on 'The Development of Metaphysics in Persia,' an illuminating sketch, appeared as a book in 1908. Since then he has developed a philosophy of his own". Iqbal's philosophy is the philosophy of self. According to him: "Throughout the entire gamut of being runs the gradually rising note of egohood until it reaches perfection in man". The question naturally arises as to what is self. How is it related to the human body and to the objective world? Self is a sort of system or unity of psychic experiences or activities, and it reveals itself as a unity of mental states. A characteristic of the unity of the self or ego is its essential privacy, which reveals uniqueness of every ego. Another characteristic of the ego is its finitude; this finitude means that we have another reality determining the finitude.

Self is directive in its essential nature. The life of the self lies essentially in its will attitudes: the life of the ego develops from the basis of the physical organism which reacting to environment slowly builds up a systematic unity of experiences, but the question arises: What makes the emergent emerge? According to Bergson emergence is due to a vital urge, non-mechanical, non-

teleological. But this does not satisfy all, and the explanation offered by theism is more satisfying. According to theists God is not only transcendent but also the emergent force, which is constantly producing or creating new emergents within spatio—temporal order. Iqbal accepts this view. Another characteristic of the ego is its spontaneity. The acts comprising the body repeat themselves. Body is accumulated action or habit of the soul and as such undetachable from it. The system of experiences we call soul or ego is also a system of acts. This does not obliterate the distinction of soul and body; it brings them close to each other. So far we have dealt with the reality of the self, its finitude, its emergence and its evolution from a physical basis, but the self is still a concept. And now the question arises as to whether we can go any further. According to Iqbal we can intuit the self. Intuition of self confers on us the conviction of permanent reality of our own self. Furthermore the intuition of the self is open to us all.

It will be seen from the above that the ego has to confront a non-ego at every step. So the question arises: Is the activity of the ego determined by its own self or things external to it, that is, are we free or not? Iqbal believes in the freedom of the ego, and is supported in this not only by religion but also by modern physics. Furthermore the freedom of the ego can be directly intuited. It is the ego which evaluates thought and all evaluation is free. So the thinking subject is free. Further all our activity is teleological. Our life is life of purposive activity, but the purpose is of our giving. The ego is limited by its inner possibilities, but the degree of freedom is relative and by evolution and development the ego can acquire more and more free-

dom. The ego is not only free, it is also immortal. Before understanding immortality we have to realise the nature of time. As for Bergson so for Iqbal the self has two aspects. While Bergson calls these aspects the fundamental self and social self, Iqbal, more appropriately, calls them the appreciative self and the efficient self. The appreciative self lives in pure duration, in eternity, which means change without succession. Its life consists in movement from appreciation to efficiency, from intuition to intellect, from pure duration to serial time which can be measured by days and nights. Thus it will be seen that the time of the ego is different from the timespan of the physical world. True time-duration belongs to the ego alone. Iqbal says: "To exist in a pure duration is to be a self, and to be a self is to be able to say 'I am', only that truly exists which can say 'I am.' It is the degree of intuition of I that determines the place of a thing in the scale of being."¹ Thus ego is eternal, it is immortal and is a permanent element in the scale of being and existence. But there are egos in which consciousness of egohood only flickers dimly. They have to work and develop before achieving immortality. "Immortality is not ours by right; it is to be achieved by personal effort. Life offers to the ego a great scope for personal efforts to achieve the ideal of immortality, and death is perhaps the first test of life's synthetic activity."

Ego can live only in a state of tension, and relaxation is fatal for it. This tension is maintained by constant action, yearning and desires. Ego must maintain ideals before it and strive ceaselessly to achieve these. This means very life for the ego. But to achieve a higher degree of freedom and to attain immortality the ego has

¹ Allamah Iqbal, *Reconstruction of Islamic Thought*, p. 55.

to develop. There are certain forces which help in the development of the ego, notable amongst them being (1) Love, (2) Courage, (3) Tolerance (4). Taking part in original and creative activities.

Iqbal uses the word 'Love' in a very wide sense. According to him it is a cosmic assimilative force which helps the human ego in its development towards immortality. Love is the regenerating spirit of the universal, the spirit which can cut the gordian knot of all human perplexities and provide an antidote to all human vices. Its highest form is the creation of values and ideals and the endeavour to realise them.

Without courage it is impossible for man to achieve anything really important in this world. Courage does not consist merely in facing manfully physical dangers. Greater courage required in not losing faith in one's ideals when things go wrong. In times of stress and torment courage provides a sheet-anchor for human character, a pivot round which other virtues revolve.

If every member of a society is to develop his individuality to the fullest extent, intolerance will only lead to perpetual quarrels and conflicts. As Iqbal has remarked:—

“The principle of the ego sustaining deed is respect for the ego in myself as well as in others”.¹

Originality and creativeness lead to the fortification and development of the ego, and although these are not given to us all in equal measure, still every ego has an urge to create. The creative element in man raises him to the divine plane and frustration of the creative element distorts human character.

¹ Iqbal, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

As against the forces which help the development of the ego there are forces of a negative character which retard its development. The most important among these are fear and begging.

By encouraging influences which fortify the ego and by avoiding or suppressing forces which weaken it the ego goes from strength to strength. In this evolutionary process the human ego has to pass through three stages:-

1. Obedience to law.
2. Self-control, which is the highest form of self-consciousness or egohood.
3. Divine vicegerency.

To the ego that is properly disciplined and suitably fortified, the first stage is represented by a phase in which obedience to law comes unconsciously. Obedience to law tends to prepare the ego for the second phase where it acquires perfect self-control. Self-control in its turn prepares the ego for the final stage: vicegerency of God on earth. The vicegerent of God on earth is the completest ego, the goal of humanity, the acme of life both in mind and body.

Thus it will be seen that Iqbal not only deals with the nature of the Self, its reality, freedom and immortality, but also lays down a regime for this evolution and development. Following this regime every human ego can become a Perfect Man. Now this Perfect Man cannot live in isolation. He has to live in a society along with others. So Iqbal prescribes the essentials of a society which will not only bring out the best in the human ego, but will allow it to play its legitimate role in the uplift of mankind. According to Iqbal this society must be based essentially on spiritual considerations such as *Tawhid*

(monotheism) and *Risalat* (inspired leadership or Prophethood). It must have a code for the guidance of the individuals and centre, and must gain supremacy over the forces of nature by studying sciences. Society based on these considerations acquires timelessness and becomes eternal.

Iqbal takes a balanced view of relations between the individual and the society, and maintains that the growth of a full and free personality is impossible unless it draws its spiritual sustenance from the culture of the group to which it belongs. On the other hand the group in its own interests owes a duty to the individual and should interfere with his development as little as possible, and that only when the common good demands it.

Having described the nature and characteristics of the ego and its relation with the society Iqbal deals with the objective world. Pantheists declare that the material world is unreal and illusory. Iqbal differs from this view. According to him the external world exists and is real. The physicists hold that its nature is material. Iqbal does not agree with this view also. According to Iqbal the nature of matter cannot be revealed either by sense perception or by thought. Bergson claims the knowledge of universe by intuition. Iqbal differs from Bergson, and as he does not claim the knowledge of the universe by intuition he falls back on analogy. On the analogy of the self physical world too exists in time, but time is a peculiar possession of self only, so the world must be regarded as a unique self. The universe then, on the analogy of our self, is free, creative and original. The universe therefore is a creative universe which is bursting and burgeoning at every point. There is no final state to the universe.

It has often been alleged by certain thinkers that Nature is inimical to man and therefore it is our duty to escape it in order to save our spirit. This alleged incompatibility between the demands of matter and of spirit gave rise to some most undesirable ideas regarding man's relations with the universe. True self development, according to the *Qur'an*, would come not by renunciation but through proper adjustment of man's relations to the external world. Human self must not turn its back to the material world, but must gain dominance over it by establishing a proper adjustment and relationship.

Having determined the nature of the universe there remains the fundamental problem which has worried philosophers and thinkers in all ages, the nature of God, the Ultimate Ego. From the very consideration that the universe is a self, intelligent and purposeful, we are driven to assume the existence of an all comprehensive ego. Now the question arises what is the relation of the Ultimate Ego with the finite ego.

According to Iqbal the Ultimate Ego holds the finite ego in its own self, without obliterating their existence. This leads to the conclusion that the Ultimate Ego is not transcendent as conceived by anthropomorphic theists. On the other hand He is immanent, But on the analogy of the self the Ultimate Reality has an ego-hood, that is to say He has consciousness of His own, I-am-ness like us, but this I-am-ness does not lie within the grasp of our experience. Thus the Ultimate Ego is transcendent also. In short the Ultimate Ego is transcendent as well as immanent and yet neither one nor the other. But for various reasons Iqbal emphasises the

transcendence rather than the immanence of the Ultimate Reality.

Thus it will be seen that in his philosophy of Self Iqbal has not only laid down the details of the regime that the human self has to follow for its development, he has also laid down the rules for the organisation of an ideal society in which human egos get optimum conditions to develop individually and socially. Following this regime and placed in this environment it is impossible to conceive of any limit to its expansion. In its relations to the objective world the relationship is of increasing dominance, while in its relationship to itself it is of continuous expansion or development. But dominance and expansion are not to be regarded as two distinct processes, they are actually two aspects of the same process. Human ego is helped in this dual process of dominance and expansion by having a true conception of God—the Ultimate Ego.

It will be seen that Iqbal's philosophy shows the way to the evolution of that ideal human society for which man has been yearning since the dawn of creation. Different cultures and different civilisations have in the past attained great heights, but their life lacked balance, and so these cultures have disappeared leaving mere indications of their glorious achievements. Humanity is today passing through a state when its very survival is threatened. How can we preserve our progress and save humanity from the fate which is staring it in the face? By working on the philosophy of Iqbal which is so beautifully enshrined in his glorious poetry. It will be seen that Iqbal's ideas are in complete consonance with the teachings of the *Qur'an*. The question will then be naturally asked that if *Qur'an* shows the

way to human progress and happiness why has the Islamic society failed to achieve these objects. According to Iqbal the reason for this is the failure of the Muslims to reinterpret the *Qur'an* in the light of a developing universe. So he turned his mind to the reconstruction of religious thought in Islam. During 1928 he delivered a series of lectures on this subject and these lectures are now published in the form of a book. Describing the impact of modern Western thought on Islam Iqbal says in one of his lectures: "The most remarkable phenomenon of modern history, however, is the enormous rapidity with which the world of Islam is spiritually moving towards the West. There is nothing wrong in this movement, for European culture on its intellectual side, is only a further development of some of the most important phases of the culture of Islam. Our only fear is that the dazzling exterior of European culture may arrest our movement and we may fail to reach the true inwardness of that culture. With the reawakening of Islam, therefore, it is necessary to examine, in an independent spirit, what Europe has thought and how far the conclusions reached by her can help us in the revision and if necessary, reconstruction of theological thought in Islam".¹ But Iqbal never claimed that his interpretation of Islam was the last word on the subject. He says: "It must, however, be remembered that there is no such thing as finality in philosophical thinking. As knowledge advances and fresh avenues of thought are opened, other views, and probably sounder views than those set forth in these lectures are possible. Our duty is carefully to watch the progress of human thought, and to maintain our independent critical attitude towards it". In

¹ Iqbal, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

his lecture on "The Human Ego—His freedom and immortality" Iqbal further says: "The only course open to us is to approach modern knowledge with a respectful and independent attitude, and to appreciate the teachings of Islam in the light of that knowledge, even though we may be led to differ from those who have gone before us".¹

An interesting question is whether Iqbal was in religious matters a reactionary or a reformer. Different writers have judged him differently. All those who have studied his religious writings and even his poetry will not hesitate to call him a reformer and even a revolutionary. Iqbal devotes a full chapter to the "Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam"; discussing the doctrine of *Ijtihad*, that is the right to exercise independent judgement and interpretation of law in the light of changed and changing circumstances he says: "The ultimate spiritual basis of all life, as conceived by Islam is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile in its life, the categories of permanance and change. It must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life: for the eternal gives us a foothold in the world of perpetual change. But eternal principles when they are understood to exclude all possibilities of change, which, according to the *Qur'an*, is one of the greatest signs of God, tend to immobilise what is essentially mobile in its nature".² Further on he says: "the closing of the door of *Ijtihad* is pure fiction suggested partly by the crystallisation of legal thought in Islam and partly by that intellectual laziness, which especially in periods of

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

spiritual decay turns great thinkers into idols. If some of the latter doctors have upheld 'this fiction, modern Islam is not bound by this voluntary surrender of intellectual independence. It is therefore necessary that the social order of Islam should not be allowed to become static, sticking to the letter that killeth and ignoring the dynamic spirit that keepeth alive".¹

There are certainly some critics who have only seen his criticism of the Western culture because it is not based on spiritual values, and they are equally vehement in calling him a reactionary. If at times he appears to be a reactionary it is so because he sees in the past some eternal values, and he insists, on revealing them not only to his people but to the world. There is no doubt that with moving times there is much in the past of which society is well rid, but there is much which a society can disregard only at its peril. He is a reformer because he does not fail to detect in future great values which the society must adopt.

In his lecture on "Spirit of Muslim Culture" Iqbal says that Greek thought in no way determined the character of Muslim culture. According to the *Qur'an* the inner experience is only one source of human knowledge, the other two sources being Nature and History. It is in tapping all these sources of knowledge that Islam is seen at its best. The most important characteristic of Muslim culture is insistence on a dynamic conception of the universe. It is one of the most essential teachings of the *Qur'an* that nations are collectively judged and suffer for their misdeeds here, and now. In order to establish this proposition the *Qur'an* constantly

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 168.

cites historical instances and urges the reader to reflect on the past and present experiences of mankind. Two ideas form the basis of the Quranic teachings in this connection: (1) The unity of human origin—"And we have created you all from one breath of life", and (2) keen sense of the reality of time and the concept of life as a continuous movement in time.

If the true significance of these basic principles is borne in mind by the leaders of mankind, the world will be a different place to live in.

In his lecture on "Is religion possible?" Iqbal says: "And religion, which in its higher manifestations, is neither dogma, nor priesthood, nor ritual, can alone ethically prepare that modern man for the burden of the great responsibility which the advancement of modern science necessarily involves and restore to him that attitude of faith which makes him capable of winning a personality here and retaining it hereafter. It is only by rising to a fresh vision of his origin and future, his whence and whither, that man will eventually triumph over a society motivated by an inhuman competition, and a civilisation which has lost its spiritual unity by its inner conflict of religious and political values." What is necessary to day is that the work of reconstruction started by Iqbal should be pursued. This will be the sincerest tribute we can pay to his memory.

Now we have to refer to a unique phenomenon in history. On 14 August, 1947, there came into existence a new state—Pakistan; Iqbal was one of the first men to declare from the platform of the Muslim League, the only representative political organization of the Muslims the fact that the creation of a sovereign

Muslim State provided the only solution of the political, religious, and communal troubles with which the country was faced.

The reasons that led him to believe that the Muslims must attain a sovereign state are well laid out in his letter to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah dated 28 May, 1937:

"....After a long and careful study of the Islamic Law I have come to the conclusion that if this system of Law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to subsistence is secured to everybody. But the enforcement and development of the Shariat of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim State or States. This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India. If a thing is impossible in India, the only other alternative is a civil war which as a matter of fact has been going on for some time in the shape of Hindu-Muslim riots. I fear that in certain parts of the country, e.g., N.-W. India, Palestine may be repeated. Also the insertion of Jawaharlal's socialism into the body politic of Hinduism is likely to cause much bloodshed among the Hindus themselves. The issue between social democracy and Brahmanism is not dissimilar to the one between Barhmanism and Buddhism. Whether the fate of socialism will be the same as the fate of Buddhism in India I cannot say. But it is clear to my mind that if Hinduism accepts social democracy it must necessarily cease to be Hinduism. For Islam the acceptance of social democracy in some suitable form and consistent with the legal principles of Islam is not a revolution but a return to the original purity of Islam. The modern pro-

blems therefore are far more easy to solve for the Muslims than for the Hindus. But as I have said above in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve these problems it is necessary to redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim states with absolute majorities. Don't you think that the time for such a demand has already arrived? Perhaps this is the best reply you can give to the atheistic socialism of Jawaharlal Nehru.

"Anyhow I have given you my own thoughts in the hope that you will give them serious consideration either in your address or in the discussions of the coming session of the League. Muslim India hopes that at this serious juncture your genius will discover some way out of our present difficulties".

As remarked above in 1931 and 1932 Iqbal attended the Round Table Conference held in London to find a solution to the political problems of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

In 1932 in his speech to the Muslim Conference he remarked:—

· "Politics have their roots in the spiritual life of man. It is my belief that Islam is not a matter of private opinion. It is a society, or if you like a civic church. It is because present day political ideals, as they appear to be shaping themselves in India, may affect its original structure and character that I find myself interested in politics."

On 21st June 1937 he again wrote to the Quaid-i-Azam, "A separate federation of Muslim provinces, reformed on the lines I have suggested above, is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the

domination of non-Muslims. Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are”.

As a result of all this the Muslim League met in Lahore and passed on 23 March, 1940 what is today known as the Pakistan Resolution. It was left to the Quaid-i-Azam, and his enthusiastic lieutenants, to give a practical shape to Iqbal's dream, but Iqbal did not live long enough to see the actual creation of Pakistan. The important role that Iqbal played in the creation of Pakistan will be appreciated from the following message that Quaid-i-Azam sent to his son on his death:—

“To me he was a friend, guide and philosopher and during the darkest moments through which the Muslim League had to go he stood like a rock, and never flinched one single moment”.

In his foreword to Iqbal's letters the Quaid-i-Azam wrote in 1943: “It was a great achievement for the Muslim League that its lead came to be acknowledged by both the majority and minority provinces. Sir Muhammad Iqbal played a very conspicuous part, though at the time not revealed to public, in bringing about this consummation.”

It is true that Iqbal was essentially a political statesman, and it is equally true that he was no match for the intrigues and machinations of political adventurers, who were always ready to sacrifice the national interests to gain private ends. There is also an inherent contradiction in a literary giant and a great philosopher taking to politics with all their ugliness and squalor. On the other hand while it is noble to sing the ways of God, it is certainly nobler to fulfil them. So when he was convinced

that his people needed his services in the political field Iqbal showed no hesitation in joining the fighters for national freedom as an ordinary soldier. He knew that he was sacrificing himself, but the freedom movement needed fighters and he willingly joined them.

To understand the true significance of the role Iqbal played in the politics of the sub-continent it is necessary to keep in mind the political background of the Muslims. The Muslims were opposed by two powerful forces—the resurgent Hinduism and the British imperialism. Against these forces the Muslims were economically weak and politically disorganised, and so their leaders were hesitant to fight both the forces at the same time. Hence the eminent Muslim leaders were even ready to come to terms with one of the forces at different periods of the struggle. Iqbal with his foresight could see that for the Muslims the fight for freedom meant fight against both Hindu intransigence and British domination. He entered the lists only after he had prepared his people for this fight on two fronts.

Even as a student in England Iqbal took active part in the various committees set up under the chairmanship of Syed Amir Ali to explain to the British Government and the public the point of view of the Muslim League inaugurated in Dacca in 1906. On return home he continued his interest in politics for some time, but later on decided to keep aloof from politics until he was sure that the ground was well prepared. Once convinced of the line of action which was best from the Muslim point of view he jumped in to the fray unhesitatingly. He decided to stand for election to the Punjab Legislative Council in 1923, but later on decided to stand back in favour of an old friend and an experienced politician

Mian Abdul Aziz of Lahore. Eventually he stood for election in 1926 and was duly elected. He remained a member of the Council till 1929, and from the platform of the Council he fought not only the Hindus and the British but also the Muslim reactionaries, who had at that time organised themselves under the able, but misguided, leadership of Sir Fazli Husani. In 1927 he was elected Secretary of that section of the Muslim League which wanted to co-operate with the Simon Commission, which was sent to the Sub-Continent by the British Government to make suggestions for the future constitution. About this time he attended a conference of Muslim political leaders held in Bhopal to chalk out the future political programme of the Muslims. In 1929 he attended the inaugural sessions of the Muslim Conference held under the presidency of the Agha Khan in Delhi. As remarked already he presided over the historic sessions of the Muslim League held in Allahabad in 1930, and in 1932 he presided over the sessions of the Muslim Conference held in Lahore. Reference has already been made to Iqbal attending the Round Table Conferences in London in 1931 and 1932. At these Conferences also he fought valiantly for the rights of his people, and resigned from the Minority Committee when he thought the Muslim delegation was acting unconstitutionally in disregarding the rights of the Muslims.

In 1936 he was elected President of the Punjab Muslim League and Chairman of the Parliamentary Board. He continued in these capacities almost till his death. From his death-bed he carried on a struggle to organise the Muslims of the Punjab, which reads like an epic of courage and faith. It is sad to note that his efforts to enlist the Muslims of the Punjab in the fight for freedom

were often thwarted by the machinations of selfish politicians in the Punjab, and at times even by the Central Office of the Muslim League, which could not possibly know the actual state of affairs in the province.

It remains now to say a few words about Iqbal as an educationist. As already stated Iqbal served in the Education Department of the Panjab from 1899 to 1905, till he went abroad for higher studies, and on return he again worked as a part time Professor in Government College, Lahore. But even after he had severed active connection with the Education Department Iqbal continued to take interest in education. For years he was Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Studies and Chairman of the Department of Philosophical studies in the Panjab University. About 1910 or so he wrote an illuminating letter giving his ideas on educational reforms to the Secretary of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference, the leading body dealing with the educational problems of the Muslims of the subcontinent.

Iqbal's educational philosophy has already been dealt with in an illuminating sketch by a well-known educationist, but the part played by him as an educational reformer still remains to be described.

In 1933 Iqbal was invited, along with two other leading educationists, Sayyid Sulayman Nadwi and Sir Ross Masud, by King Nadir Shah to visit Kabul, and to advise his Government regarding the reorganisation of Kabul University and overhauling the educational system of Afghanistan.

Thus it will be seen that Iqbal played a leading part in his different roles and has left an impression on the mind of resurgent Asia, the significance of which it is difficult to assess at present. Once when a friend

wrote and asked him as to what he was doing Iqbal wrote back in reply that sitting in his house in a street of Lahore, he was trying to create a new urge for life in the heart of Asia. For us in Pakistan he represents the highest symbol of our culture, and is regarded with just pride as our national poet. But he is more than a national poet. In all important phases of our life his many-sided genius continues to provide us guidance. He is the spiritual father of Pakistan.

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